









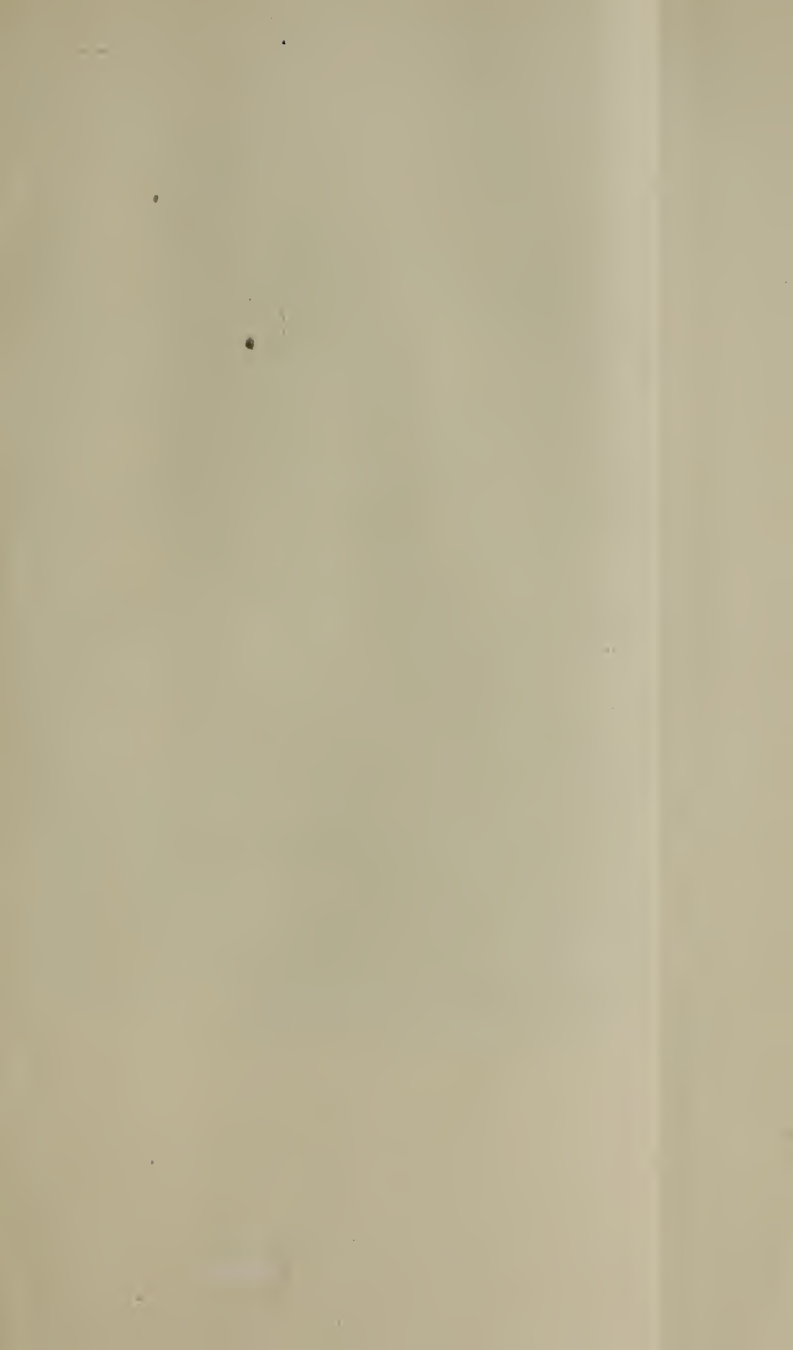
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# HANDBOOK OF PAINTING.

GERMANY—NETHERLANDS, ETC.







# HANDBOOK OF PAINTING.

## THE GERMAN, FLEMISH, AND DUTCH SCHOOLS.

BASED ON THE HANDBOOK OF KUGLER.

RE-MODELLED BY THE LATE DR. WAAGEN.

*A NEW EDITION.*

THOROUGHLY REVISED AND IN PART RE-WRITTEN

By J. A. CROWE.

IN TWO PARTS.—PART I.

*With Illustrations.*

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## PREFACE.

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THIRTEEN years have elapsed since the late Dr. Waagen wrote the new edition of 'Kugler,' of which the present is a revised and corrected impression. Dr. Waagen at that time explained his reasons for rejecting a great part of Kugler's work, stating that he had enlarged the text in respect of the later Dutch and Flemish schools, and extended his critical notices to artists who were at once painters and engravers. A minute account of the sources open to the historical inquirer in relation to art in Germany and the Low Countries concluded this portion of the learned Doctor's preface.

Art criticism has done a great deal since 1860 to increase our knowledge of the lives of painters, and much that was then acceptable as historical and true is now looked upon as fabulous or doubtful. I may venture to affirm that no one at the present day would attempt to class Dierick Bouts, or Cristus, or Justus amongst the pupils of Hubert van Eyck; nor would it occur to any person to admit the existence of Roger van der Weyden the younger, or to acknowledge as productions of the last Holbein such works as are found to date before 1515. This classification and these statements we find in Dr. Waagen's text; and in citing them as proofs of the necessity for revising that text, I do not by any means exhaust the subject.

An attentive reader will observe that I discard Dr. Waagen's theory of a Teutonic School, whilst I endeavour to throw new light on the origin of painting in the Netherlands. The influence of sculpture-tinting is prominently brought forward; and examples are given of early art on walls and portable shrines. Some interest is now for the

first time given to the painters who were the precursors of the Van Eycks in Flanders ; and passing to the Van Eycks themselves, I trace their connection with the reigning family of the Burgundian Dukes at the time of their residence in Ghent. John van Eyck is shown to have spent two years at the Hague ; his journey to Portugal is described ; and proof is afforded that our knowledge of him and his brother is mainly derived from Italian as contra-distinguished from Belgian sources. Cristus is noted as a painter who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century ; he is the only direct disciple of the great master of Bruges.

The school of the Van Eycks, which had its cradle in the valley of the Meuse, is to be distinguished from that of Van der Weyden, which arose in the valley of the Scheldt. Van der Weyden is not the pupil, he is the contemporary and rival of John van Eyck. Van der Goes appears as one who carried to a monastery the talents of a great artist and the habits of a wine-bibber. Justus of Ghent wanders to Urbino, where he transforms his style, and becomes great under the influence of Santi and Melozzo. Gerard van der Meire, the contemporary of Justus, becomes connected by tradition with a series of pictures telling of prolonged and patient activity. Memling's career, after his settlement at Bruges, is clearly mapped out ; and we track to their original places most of his scattered altarpieces in European galleries. Dierick Bouts is shown to be the pupil of Roger van der Weyden, the founder of a local school at Louvain, and the master of Quentin Massys. Gheerardt David wanders from Holland to Bruges, imitates Memling and Van Eyck, and forms Joachim Patenier, the first of the Belgian landscapists. The birth and death of Quentin Massys, his practice at Antwerp, and his relation to Holbein and Durer are accurately given ; whilst Mabuse takes his place as Quentin's friend and contemporary before he passed into Italy and modified his style after the taste of the Renaissance. Bellegambe of Douai is restored to his place in the history of Belgian art ; Marinus of Romerswale becomes familiar as a follower of Massys ; and the fantastic Bosch resumes his old and genuine name of Van Aeken. Patenier, who matriculated at Antwerp in

1515, appears as the master of Henry de Bles, whose identity with Henri de Patenier may be accepted as certain.

Some novelty will be found to have been introduced into the lives of the painters of the Low Countries who were the precursors, contemporaries, and followers of Rubens and Rembrandt. Of Rembrandt himself and his pupils the lives have been remodelled or re-written, to satisfy the claims of the public to an accurate knowledge of their style and productions. Almost all the dates illustrating the history of the later Dutch have been subjected to a necessary revision.

Changes of no less magnitude will be found in the accounts of German schools. Hans Holbein the grandfather disappears from the pages of the Handbook,—his existence proved to be a myth. Hans Holbein the father is welcomed back to the rank which he had lost, and we assign to him anew the pictures which critics had learnt to attribute to his son. It might have been considered difficult, if not impossible, to add anything to the the history of men hitherto so patiently studied as Holbein and Durer, yet it will be seen that much has been done to complete the lives and correct the lists of works of these eminent artists.

In the attempt thus made to remodel Dr. Waagen's 'Kugler,' I required the help of numerous contemporary authorities; and I perform a pleasing duty in acknowledging the assistance which I have derived from such works as the following:—'*Le Beffroi*,' edited by Mr. Weale; the '*Journal des Beaux Arts*,' with its articles by Michiels, Bürger, and Weale, and the latter's '*Guide to Bruges*,' and '*Catalogue of the Bruges Academy*'; the '*Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*,' edited by Professor von Lützow, with its numerous contributions from the pen of A. von Zahn, Hermann Lücke, Waagen, A. Woltmann, Gottfried Kinkel, His-Heussler, Wilhelm Schmidt, J. Baader, and Moriz Thausing; Busscher's '*Recherches sur les Peintres Gantois*'; Schnaase's '*Geschichte der Bildenden Künste*'; Dr. Ennen's writings in the '*Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*'; A. Pinchart's '*Archives des Arts*' and other works; E. van Even's '*Louvain Monumental*' and pamphlets; Ruelens' and Pinchart's Annotations to Délepierre's Translation of '*Early Flemish painters*'; the nume-

rous works of Mr. A. Wauters of Brussels ; the 'Liggeren,' or registers of the Antwerp Guild, transcribed with copious annotations by Ph. Rombouts and Th. van Lerius ; Van der Willigen's 'Artistes de Haarlem' ; George Scharf's papers in the 'London Archeologia' ; Dr. Julius Meyer's 'Kunst Lexicon' ; Harzen's 'Life of Zeitblom' ; Woltmann's and Wornum's 'Holbein' ; Herman Grimm's numerous essays ; 'Durer's Life,' by A. von Eye ; Durer's 'Kunstlehre,' by A. von Zahn ; O. Mündler's 'Beiträge' ; Schuchardt's 'Lucas Cranach' ; C. Vosmaer's 'Life of Rembrandt' ; Bürger's 'Musées de Hollande' ; Fetis' 'Catalogue of the Brussels Museum' ; Sunaert's 'Catalogue of the Ghent Museum' ; Dr. Bode's 'Frans Hals' ; T. van Westrheene's 'Paulus Potter' ; P. Scheltema's 'Amstel's Oudheit.'

It would not be fair to neglect mentioning such publications as Vaernewyk's 'Beroerlycke Tijden,' and Weinreich's 'Danziger Chronik,' both of which were recently printed.

I have thought it necessary to preserve Dr. Waagen's references to the collection of the Landauer Brüderhaus at Nuremberg, because after the close of that collection the pictures which it contained were dispersed no one knows where.

After the pages of the Handbook had been sent to press, I learnt that the Munich Pinakothek had been numbered afresh.

In correction of the text I may state that the portrait in the Belvedere Museum assigned by Dr. Waagen to Calcar is by Morone ; and the Soleure Madonna is now the property of the Kunst Verein of that city.

J. A. CROWE.

*Note.*—The Suermondt collection has been acquired for the Museum at Berlin ; the Wynn Ellis is bequeathed to the National Gallery, and the Munro—Butler Johnstone—dispersed at Messrs. Christie's, 1878. The collection of Herr van Loon, at Amsterdam, is also dispersed.

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HANDBOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF PAINTING  
IN  
GERMANY AND THE LOW COUNTRIES

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BOOK I.

A.D. 800 TO 1250.

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CHAPTER I.

EARLY CHRISTIAN EPOCH.

800—1150.

NEITHER in Germany nor in the Netherlands are there indications to be found of any practice of the art of painting previous to the introduction of Christianity. Charlemagne, who endeavoured to infuse something of the culture of the ancient world into his widely-extended dominions, adorned the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle with mosaics, and embellished his palace with wall pictures. In the great cupola of the former he introduced the hallowed composition of Christ enthroned, with four and twenty elders holding crowns, and angels hovering in a golden heaven.<sup>1</sup> The walls of the palace were filled with incidents of Charlemagne's life as a warrior, a statesman, and a patron of learning. They contained

<sup>1</sup> [See the subject engraved, after Ciampini, in the second part of Ernst aus'm Weerth's 'Kunst-Denkmäler des Christl. Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden.' Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1860, Th. ii. Taf. 32, 11. Fragments of the mosaic have been found under whitewash; and the dome is now in the hands of restorers, who hope to revive the old decoration of Charlemagne.]

allegories of the sciences, varied by incidents of battle and siege. During the same reign the castle of Upper Ingelheim, on the Rhine, was enriched with frescos of a devout and secular character. In the chapel there were scenes from the Old and New Testament ; in the banqueting halls, episodes of history. On one of the walls were the deeds of the great Pagan rulers, Ninus, Cyrus, Phalaris, Romulus, Hannibal, and Alexander, and on the other those of the Emperors Constantine the Great and Theodosius—the victory of Charles Martel over the Frieslanders, the seizure of Aquitaine by Pepin, Charlemagne's own conquests of the Saxons, and finally, himself enthroned in all the majesty of a conqueror. Although no trace remains of these extensive decorations, yet contemporary miniatures, executed by order of the monarch, enable us to form some idea of the form in which they were produced ; and we are led inferentially to believe that monumental paintings of religious subjects were chiefly based upon the models of early Christian art. Such subjects, in manuscripts, exhibit an awkwardness and stiffness, a feebleness of drawing, and a gaudiness of colour, indicative only of the feeling of a still semi-barbarous nation. We may, therefore, conclude that the secular scenes, for which the painter had no models, and in which the story frequently entails great liveliness of action, must have had a very unrefined appearance. The treatment, with broad lights and shadows laid upon the same unvarying middle tone, which occurs in the miniatures, was unquestionably derived from that which we observe in antique frescos. In the peculiar type of many a head—in the meagre character of the draperies—in the gold hatchings of the dresses—in the green tone of the shadows, and in the repeated use of vermilion and unbroken blue—the influence of the Italians and Byzantines may have taken effect, as it did in the miniatures. The manuscripts to which these remarks apply are the following :—

An Evangeliarium, in the Imperial Library at Paris. This contains the four Evangelists—Christ represented under a youthful form, giving the benediction according to the rite of the Byzantine Church ; and the Fountain of Life, within an octagon building surrounded by stags, by peacocks, and other

birds. The heads are of an elongated oval, the eyes large and widely opened, the brows heavily arched, the noses broad of nostril and narrow in the barrel.<sup>1</sup> We may hesitate to affirm that the writer of this manuscript, whose name was Gottschalk, was also the painter of the miniatures; yet it may have been so. At all events it is an ascertained fact that painting was, with few exceptions, practised only by monks till towards the beginning of the twelfth century—all intellectual culture, down to that time, being engrossed by the religious orders.

An Evangeliarium (Supplement, Latin, No. 686), also in the Imperial Library at Paris, and far richer in contents than the preceding; originally from the church of St. Medardus, at Soissons. The pictures, including the subjects already described, and also the Church of Christ represented as a building, exhibit a far more skilful artist. Two of the Evangelists are of very animated action.<sup>2</sup>

An Evangelistarium, in the town Library of Trêves. The four youthful Evangelists here give evidence of a still more advanced artist. The motives have throughout something grand and free, and to some extent convey a feeling of devout inspiration; the features of St. Matthew may be even termed noble. But the ornamentation of the borders, of the canon, and of the initials, tell of much higher cultivation than the figures. Two elements of art are especially distinguishable—the antique, as shown in Greek borders, acroteria, genii, and animals; the Irish, as displayed in masterly meanders of ornament interspersed with dragons and serpents. The skill with which space is distributed, the taste and fancy which characterize the fillings, are peculiar to the inmates of Irish monasteries in the sixth century, who wandered as missionaries into various European countries, and gave permanence to a new form of art. In France and Swabia, St. Columbanus; in Switzerland, St. Gallus (founder of the convent of St. Gallen), were the pioneers of this new school; in Franconia, St. Kilian; in Belgium, St. Lievin; and in Friesland, St.

<sup>1</sup> See further description in my 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris,' p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> See 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris,' p. 237.

Willebrord.<sup>1</sup> Both the elements, antique and Irish, are combined in the Bible of Trêves, with the application of the most costly colours. Purple, gold, and silver are abundantly used, and a system of ornamentation is worked out which unites the utmost splendour of effect with a very original and attractive form of taste, and great technical mastery. The same architectural feeling is observable which afterwards found so grand a development in the architecture of the Germanic race.

Subsequently, when France and Germany, under the grandchildren of Charlemagne, were divided into separate states, we perceive a distinct character in the art of each. I propose, therefore, only so far to consider the form practised in France as it occasionally is found to influence that of Germany. Meanwhile, in the course of the ninth century, a barbaric element becomes more and more perceptible. This is apparent in the type of the heads, with noses of monstrous thickness and length—in the brick-red tones of the flesh, and in a coarser style of treatment; whilst on the other hand the ornamentation of initials and borders reveals a far higher level of acquirements. The chief specimens of this time are the Bibles of Charles the Bald, in the Louvre, and in the Royal Library at Munich, formerly in the convent of St. Emmeran at Regensburg, and the Bible of the Emperor Charles the Fat, in the church of St. Calixtus at Rome.<sup>2</sup> Another series of miniatures belonging to manuscripts written in France discover an Anglo-Saxon tendency; these, however, as exercising no influence on the art of Germany, I have no occasion to consider.

One form of art of which examples have been preserved in Germany consists of very rude and slight pen-drawings, in which reminiscences of antique feeling are traceable in the drapery. Of this kind are the miniatures in the manuscript, dated 814, and belonging to the Bavarian convent of Wessobrunn, now in the Library at Munich. This manuscript is

<sup>1</sup> See my Supplement to Kugler's 'Handbook of the History of Painting,' in the 'Kunstblatt' of 1850, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> There erroneously given out for the Bible of Charlemagne. See last-mentioned Essay in 'Kunstblatt,' 1850, p. 92; also 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris,' p. 258.

also celebrated as containing the Wessobrunn Prayer, one of the earliest examples of the German language. It is decorated with sixteen small pictures, illustrative of the Finding of the true Cross by the Empress Helena.

Translation of the Four Evangelists into German verse, undertaken in the ninth century by Ottfried, a monk belonging to the convent of Weissenburg, in Alsace ; now in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Two pictures here, the Crucifixion and Palm Sunday, probably both by the same monk, occupy each a whole page. Christ is represented upon the Cross under a youthful form, and is upright and still alive. The expression of sorrow in the Virgin and St. John is well rendered by lively gestures. Above, in two circles, are the half-length figures of the Sun and Moon, looking at Christ, and about to cover their faces with their drapery. A third picture, representing the Last Supper, is the work of a later and far ruder hand, to whom also the insertion of the eight Apostles in Palm Sunday is attributable.

In point of art, however, the above-mentioned works are far surpassed by a picture of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, p. 369 of a manuscript in the library of the convent of St. Gallen (No. 877), which contains the Grammar of Donatus and other writings of similar import. The conception is free and noble, the proportions are slender, the arms astonishingly well drawn, and the antique style of the drapery well understood. This picture of the ninth century proves how early the school of art belonging to this convent had attained a respectable development.

Another class of miniatures, of which specimens are preserved in Germany, consists of subjects very carefully executed in body colours. In the conception of these, antique types are clearly discerned, commingled, especially in the tenth century, with those of Byzantine art. The chief specimen of this kind, belonging to the ninth century, is a Psalter, No. 23 of the Library at St. Gallen. Among the scenes from the Old and New Testament, contained in the richly-decorated Litany, the youthful figure of Christ and that of David playing on the psalter are most remarkable. As regards initial decorations, this is the richest and most



splendid memorial of German art I know, and may be justly placed in the same category as the Bibles of Charles the Bald.

Far richer in pictorial elements is a stately Evangelarium in the Library of the Cathedral of Trêves, which in its initials, in the attributes of the Evangelists, and in the use of several of the colours, betrays the influence of the Irish school of miniature. At the same time, in other decorations, the style of the above-described French school is discernible, while in the attitudes, and partially in the tone of colouring, Byzantine feeling may be seen. One Thomas, who styles himself the writer, was probably the author of some of the pictures, which are evidently the work of different hands. There is reason to believe that this codex was executed in the convent of St. Gallen.

The prosperity which Germany enjoyed from 919 to 1066 under the Saxon and the first two Frankish emperors has left its impress in the only surviving form of art—the miniatures attached to manuscripts. Among the draughtsmen of this time several bishops take a prominent position. The antique types are adhered to with no inconsiderable technical skill in body-colours, while side by side with them may already be remarked signs of original composition. Frequently also, and especially at the period of the marriage of the Greek Princess Theophanu with the Emperor Otho II. in 972, a strong savour of Byzantine influence is apparent. As characteristic of the German painting of this and the succeeding period we may note the frequent use of green, which was evidently as much a favourite with the Germans as azure with the French. MSS. with miniatures of this period exist in considerable numbers, of which I need only give a few examples. Important as a monument of Swiss art is a fragment of a codex, No. 338, of the Library of St. Gallen, containing an Antiphonarium, a Sacramentarium, and other ritual works. A Crucifixion and a Descent of the Holy Ghost exhibit skill of no common kind in speaking and dignified action and fair drawing; and we notice a technical improvement in the use of half tones.

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstblatt' of 1850, p. 92.



An Evangelistarium entirely written by the hand of St. Ulrich, Bishop of Augsburg, in the Royal Library at Munich, constitutes one of the chief specimens of the Swabian school. The pictures of the four Evangelists, also probably the work of the bishop himself, and that of the Archangel Michael and the Dragon, which is very successful, are all but free from Byzantine influence, showing the antique modes of conception proper to early Christian art, combined with much skill of execution. But the harsh and gaudy colours and ill-cast draperies are characteristic of a new and more essentially local manner. Another Evangelistarium by the same hand, in the British Museum (Harleian MSS. No. 2970), only differs from that of Munich in the comparative lightness of its tones.<sup>1</sup>

As a specimen of Bavarian art we may look at an Evangelistarium with the four Evangelists, originally at Tegernsee, 1017-1048, now in the Library at Munich (No. 31), which exhibits strict drawing, a simple cast of drapery, and a clean mode of execution.

At the head of the numerous MSS. representing the Franconian school we should name an Evangelistarium, written about the year 1000, and now in the Munich Library (iv. 2, 6), interesting for artistic skill and choice of subject. One of the four artists here distinguishable, by whom the Nativity was executed, shows a decided Byzantine influence. Another, to whom the enigmatical representation, p. 5, is attributable, displays the manner observable in the MSS. written at Bamberg, and chiefly decorated with miniatures by order of the Emperor Henry II. (1002 to 1024). Some of these are still preserved in the Library at Bamberg, some in the Library at Munich. They differ most decidedly, in style and treatment, from the works of the earlier Carolingian period, though in the main copies they are not true imitations of older originals. The types of heads are so uniform and rude, that we fail to discover, even in portraits (Henry II.), a trace of individuality. The forms are so ill drawn and so slender as to convey quite the impression of lameness; the drapery folds are only suggested; and all that remains to

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstblatt' of 1850, p. 98; also 'Treasures of Art in Great Britain,' vol. i. p. 196.

remind us of antique feeling is a certain dignified solemnity. The colours are broken in clear pale tones, varying in flesh from pure white to pallid yellow, brown, and orange; in draperies, to tertiary greens, blues, and reds. Antique dress is sometimes exchanged for that of the period. A cool but not unpleasant harmony is enhanced by thin stripes of tints, such as green for earth, violet-blue and red for skies; but here and there gold grounds are preserved. Shadows are very sparingly applied; but the transitions of these from green into yellow lights betray the influence of non-German art. The handling in body-colour is clean and blended; it has not the breadth of the preceding centuries. We meet occasionally with miniatures of coarser make, which tell of local education. Where the composer has not been working on traditional models, he gives proof of a quaint observation of nature; and a playful fancy is sometimes displayed in illustrative incidents. Peculiarly tasteful are the ornaments, which are sometimes bordered with the 'Greca,' sometimes with designs of Irish Franconian style.

One of the most valuable of these MS. is the missal presented by the Emperor Henry II. to the chapter of the cathedral of Bamberg, at his coronation in 1002—a large folio (B. No. 7 of the Munich Library) with stately representations of the monarch on his throne and St. Gregory, finished after the fashion of the artists beyond the Alps, and a crucifixion of coarse local stamp.

Richer still is an Evangelarium given by the same Emperor to the chapter of Bamberg (B. No. 4 of the Munich Library)—a folio with ornaments including animals and homely episodes, allegorical personifications of countries and cities in antique costume, and gospel pictures, in one of which Christ is crucified in the primitive fashion, with unbent frame, alive, and both feet separately nailed to the cross.

Worthy of notice again is an Evangelarium presented by Henry II. to a church at Bamberg (B. No. 2 of the Munich Library), not only because it contains rough imitations of the miniatures in the MS. above described, but a very rare subject at this time,—the Last Judgment. On one of the pages four angels are represented sounding the last trump,

whilst the four winds at the corners of the miniature are blowing horns, and thirteen souls of a greenish hue are rising from their graves. On the opposite page Christ, with flesh tinged in fiery red, sits in judgment, with the cross in his hands, unattended by the accustomed figures of the Virgin and St. John. Angels with scrolls proclaim the sentence of the condemned, and call the elect to heaven; and amongst the sinners, as amongst the happy, there are high dignitaries of the Church and of the State, one of the latter dragged by a devil to the flaming abyss, at the bottom of which Satan in chains is seen to preside.

The following MSS. are particularly important as illustrative of painting in Saxony :—

An Evangelarium, in the treasury of the church at Quedlinburg, probably presented by the Emperor Henry I. It may be supposed that the paintings executed in the palace of this sovereign at Merseburg, representing his victory over the Hungarians, were much in the style of the miniatures in this MS.

An Evangelarium, in the Imperial Library, Paris (Supplement Latin, No. 667), probably written for the Emperor Otho II. (reigned 974-983), and of considerable artistic value as specimens of the above-mentioned form of treatment, though showing the influence of non-German art.<sup>1</sup>

An Evangelarium, also written for Otho II., formerly in the convent of Echternach, now in the Ducal Library at Gotha. Some of the pictures exemplify the unattractive style of French art as practised in the ninth century; yet as respects number and value of miniatures, and rich decoration of canons and initials, it may be considered a work of the first class.<sup>2</sup>

Three Evangelaria, in the sacristy of the Cathedral at Hildesheim. The miniatures in these MSS. coincide much with those in the missal at Bamberg, but are somewhat ruder in execution, and doubtless the work of St. Bernward,

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris,' p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> Rathgeber's 'Beschreibung des Herzoglichen Museum zu Gotha,' p. 9, etc. [It may be doubted whether the miniatures of this Evangelarium are all as old as the date given in the text—*i.e.* 973-983.]

Bishop of Hildesheim (reigned 993-1022), who was well known as a painter.

Westphalian art is represented by two Evangelitaria, in the Cathedral Library at Trèves. One of them (No. 139), scarcely later in date than 950, is more rude in its figures than contemporary Bibles in South Germany or on the Rhine; yet it displays considerable skill in the forming of initials, and in the ornamentation of the canons. The other Evangeliarium is of higher artistic value; its miniatures may be assigned to about the year 1000, while its cover contains a carving in ivory of the tenth century, and enamels of the twelfth century.

As regards the position which miniature painting attained in the Rhine country, an Evangelistarium, executed for Bishop Egbert of Trèves (reigned 978-993), now in the civic Library of that ancient city, gives very favourable testimony. It contains fifty-seven large pictures, in which six different hands may be distinguished. These are, in part, very happily composed, and display in the principal incidents and in the drapery a successful adherence to antique tradition. A small number only of these pictures give decided evidence of the imitation of Byzantine types.

There is proof also in an Evangeliarium of very splendid execution, in the University Library at Prague, that a similar style of painting was also practised in Bohemia. Various departures from the types of tradition—for instance, in the Baptism, where the river Jordan is represented as a naked youth, pouring the water over the head of Christ—show a mode of conception peculiar to Bohemia.<sup>1</sup>

In the Netherlands, judging from the scanty specimens of MSS. with miniatures belonging to this time, the style of art was very similar, only not so successful. An Evangeliarium, in the Royal Library of the Hague, which may be attributed to about the year 900, though rude in forms and crude in colouring, shows a very powerful reflection of Irish art. The portraits of Count Dietrich II. of Holland, and his wife Hildegard, recommended by St. Albert to the Saviour, be-

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstblatt,' 1850, p. 129. [And see Wocel in the February No. of the 'Wiener Mittheilungen' for 1860, pp. 10 and following.]

long to the latter half of the tenth century, when this MS. was presented by both these personages to the church of the Abbey of Egmond, dedicated to that saint. This subject, rudely drawn with the pen, is interesting as displaying the rudiments of an original art disengaged from the bonds of mere antique imitation.

An Evangelarium, from the church of St. Jacques at Liège, now in the Library of the old Dukes of Burgundy (No. 18,383) at Brussels, belonging to the tenth century, and executed throughout in body colours of light and harmonious effect, is incomparably richer and more careful in manner.

Richer still and of more importance is an Evangelistarium, in the same library (No. 9428), of the beginning of the eleventh century. The pictures are similar in style and type of heads to that of Bishop Egbert of Trèves, but ruder. The cool violet flesh tones and the whole scale of bright and harmonious colouring show a striking affinity to the miniatures at Bamberg executed for the Emperor Henry II., proving the wide spread of this style of art.

After the middle of the eleventh century, and owing probably to the troubles of Henry IV.'s reign, a suspension of pictorial progress is observable in Germany. Side by side with the style of the previous epoch—the use, namely, of size-colours, of a general light tone—we observe simple outlines, only filled up with slight illumination; yet the tradition of the antique, which fades, is not replaced by any display of original thought. Single figures of Christ, the Virgin, and Saints are interspersed with Scripture scenes and symbolical representations characteristic of the spirit of the Middle Ages. By the beginning of the twelfth century, however, instances of moderate progress are traceable, which continues until the end of that century. I give a few examples:—

An Evangelarium, from the monastery of Altaich, near Straubing, in Bavaria, now in the Munich Library, in which the figures of Christ in the act of benediction, and of St. Mark, are remarkable, and where the whole technical process is very clean.

An Evangelarium, also in the Munich Library, from the



Niedermünster monastery at Regensburg. At the beginning of the MSS. we find various allegorical subjects, of a mystic character, with rich tendril-like ornament and numerous inscriptions. One of these, representing the victory over death by the sacrifice of Christ, is remarkable. In the centre Christ is represented on the cross, his feet fastened to a board with two nails, in red drapery, with the royal crown and priestly stole. Somewhat lower at each side of the cross stand, on the left, Vita, a female figure having a crown adorned with a cross and rich drapery, her face and hands raised upwards; on the right, Mors, pallid in colour, with matted hair, the countenance half veiled, a deep wound in the neck, the body half nude, and the clothing mean, sinking down with broken lance and scythe. A dragon, which grows out from the foot of the cross, appears to bite this figure in the arm. On both sides are smaller figures; above are Sol and Luna, veiled. On the right is the New Covenant, a female figure crowned, with the standard of victory, and the cup of the Sacrament on the crown. On the left is the Old Covenant, her countenance concealed by the border, the scroll of the Law and the sacrificial knife in her hands. Below, on the right, are the uprisen dead; on the left, the rent veil of the Temple. Further on in the MS., before each Gospel, there is a representation of its evangelists, with the appropriate symbol above the figure, and underneath, one of the four rivers of Paradise, in the form of a nude male figure, with two horns and a large water urn. The painting of all these subjects is very neat, and the drawing is not altogether without skill.

Specimens of the same style of outline may be seen in a Psalter in the Library of St. Gallen (No. 21), adorned by Notger, abbot of St. Gallen, surnamed Labeo, or Teutonicus, with pictures which are very rude for the period.

The Netherlandish miniatures executed at this time agree in essential respects with those of Germany, only that a more or less shining surface shows the mixture of gum with the colours. The miniatures in the second part of a Vulgate in the British Museum (additional, No. 17,738) are an example of this. Some only of the colours, the vermilion and the green, are

given in their full force. The symbolic subject, fol. 2, b, especially shows a skilful artist.

Another specimen is supplied by the Commentary of St. Gregory on the book of Job, in the Imperial Library, Paris (Sorbonne, No. 267), in which a certain amount of spirit is imparted to incidents of movement. As the pictures of half the work are unfinished, their technical processes are plainly seen. The outlines are very cleverly drawn with the pen, then coloured, and finished in a darker tone with a brush.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE ROMANESQUE EPOCH.

1150—1250.

FROM the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century great progress was apparent in all the arts practised throughout Germany and the Netherlands. Painting gradually passed from monastic hands into those of the laity. The field of ecclesiastic subjects became largely extended, and the system of placing the type and countertype from the Old and New Testament in juxtaposition was fully developed. The floating traditions of Charlemagne, King Arthur, and the Niebelungen, not only expanded into a large and important literature, but came into use as a source of pictorial representation. In this service all the outward forms of life—armour, weapons, the costume of knights and ladies—were enlisted and taken from models within the painter's reach. Side by side with those fanciful modes of conception, of which, in ecclesiastical subjects, the frequent treatment of the Apocalypse is an example, flourished also those humorous ideas which found so rich and picturesque an expression in the grotesque sculpture of Romanesque churches, and in the drolleries of the miniatures. The system of representing the occupations of each month in the

calendar gave further occasion for the introduction of scenes from daily life. Finally, the representation of animals, as illustrations of Aristotle's *Natural History*, and also of those writings treating of the chase, and especially of the science of falconry, became very popular. Byzantine art still exercised considerable influence in preserving the tradition of ecclesiastical subject composition; but instead of continuing the mummified forms of the earlier school, the painters of the day began to recognise the excellence which lay in its original inventions, and succeeded in animating them with their own peculiar feeling. A certain sense of beauty and grace is frequently apparent in the movement of figures, and Byzantine meagreness yields to a certain fulness of facial forms; but particular subjects, such as the Crucifixion, retain much of their old character. Stiff and narrow folds of drapery, dramatic action and strain, remind us frequently of the sculptures which adorned both the exterior and interior of the Romanesque churches. Emotion expressed by means of gesture was successfully cultivated, and costumes were more and more taken from common life. The treatment in which body colours were preferred was carried to great mastery and precision. Till about 1200, the colours as a rule are much broken with light tints; after that date they are forcible and frequently dark. The backgrounds hitherto used are almost invariably replaced by gold. In the predominance of decided and generally black outlines, and in the scumbling of the tones, a new principle is traceable. At the same time the northern spirit of art is still more originally and independently seen in the pictures with pale outlines, filled up with generally very slight colouring. With few exceptions, the painting of this epoch is represented only by miniatures in MSS., of which I proceed to describe the most remarkable:—

A Psalter, in the library of Prince Wallerstein, at Mahingen, not far from Nördlingen, which belongs to the beginning of this period, shows in the occupations of the months, illustrating the calendar, various animated features taken from life—for instance, the sower in March; the gathering, treading, and pressing of the grape in September; and the



tapping of the beer in November. Religious subjects are treated as before, and occasionally with an elevated feeling. The colouring is bright and clear.

The splendid MS. of the Hortus Deliciarum (a collection of extracts from the fathers, ecclesiastical writers, and other works), executed in the latter part of the twelfth century, in the convent of Hohenburg, in Alsace, is adorned with a large number of miniature illustrations of the text, and thus contains, with subjects from sacred history, some of an allegorical character, and others which represent scenes from real life. The latter display the costume and fashions of the time in great variety. The conception, particularly in allegories, is rather poor, and requires numerous marginal explanations to elucidate its meaning; but there is a dignified grandeur and repose in the figures of saints, and occasionally surprising boldness and meaning in the ideas which the artist has worked out. Amongst the most remarkable is a figure of Superbia, a female in rich attire and flowing drapery, seated on horse-back, on a lion-skin, and poising her lance.<sup>1</sup>

A peculiar school of miniature illustration appears to have been formed at this time in the convents of Upper Bavaria; most of the drawings with which the MSS. are illustrated are only in pen and ink, but the flesh is generally distinguished from the drapery, and even different parts of the latter are distinguished from each other, by tints of red and black ink. In the figures themselves there is seldom more colouring, but the grounds are always filled in and enclosed with borders of different colours.<sup>2</sup> Of these works we may first mention the MS. of the German *Æneid*, by Henry von Veldeck, written about the year 1200, which was brought from Bavaria, and is now preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. The drawings represent in a long series the events narrated in the poem. They deserve attention from the care bestowed upon the costume and other details, but in all that regards feeling for form and grace they are far inferior to the Hortus Deliciarum; in the deformity of many of the figures they even

<sup>1</sup> [This MS. perished in the fire of the Strasburg library in 1870.]

<sup>2</sup> See Kugler's Essay, 'Die Bilderhandschrift der Eneid in der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin.' Museum, 1836, No. 36—38.

remind us of the MSS. of Bamberg already described. Still they possess a peculiar interest as steps in the history of German art. There is here unfolded, in the movements of the hands in particular, a complete language of gesture, equally well adapted to convey the expression of tranquil intercourse or of passionate energy. Thus, for example, the solitary complaints of love, or sorrow for the death of the loved one, grief and suffering, are admirably expressed by a convulsive wringing of the hands.

Far more important are the drawings of another MS. of the same time and school, containing the beautiful German poem of Werinher, deacon of the convent of Tegernsee, on the life of the Virgin, which has passed from the collection of Herr v. Nagler into the Royal Library of Berlin.<sup>1</sup> With respect to excellence of form, these drawings are nearly equal to those of the *Hortus Deliciarum*, and sometimes surpass them in quiet grace and naïveté. This is particularly shown where the expression of serene happiness is the chief object, as, for instance, in a group of the Blessed, in a Vision of the Virgin. Others, in which the artist represents passionate, and especially sorrowful feelings, are of the highest excellence. In spite of the insufficiency of his means, he has exhibited in the positions, gestures, and cast of drapery, a tragic pathos so peculiarly expressive as to excite our astonishment, when we consider the early epoch of art at which the work was executed. The best of these drawings are—one that represents the Damned (also in a Vision of the Virgin), in which they are bound together by glowing chains, and are driven hither and thither by inward torments; and another, of which the subject is the lamentation of the mothers after the massacre of their children at Bethlehem; in this one woman rends her garment, another cowers on the ground and supports her head on her hand, a third wrings her hands, a fourth with a passionate movement raises her arms and appeals to Heaven against the horrible outrage.

As a further step of progress, in connection with the foregoing, we may mention the drawings by Conrad, a monk of

<sup>1</sup> See Kugler's dissertation, *De Werinhero, sæculi xii. monacho Tegernseensi*, etc.

the convent of Scheyern, who was distinguished as the author of many learned works, and lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. The Royal Library of Munich contains several of the works which he embellished with drawings, amongst which a book of the Gospels, and another of the Lessons, are particularly important.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the latter MS. are several large subjects from the Apocalypse; then two remarkable legends in smaller drawings—one containing the history of Bishop Theophilus, the earliest German version of Faust; and lastly, a number of illustrations of sacred history. The lines are not drawn with the certainty and precision of those before described; but the desire of imitating nature is still more evident, the attitudes are still freer, the cast of the drapery follows more easily the movements of the figure, and its outline has at once softness and dignity.

One of the most interesting illustrated MSS. of this period, but of another school, is the Psalter, written about the year 1200 for the Landgrave Hermann of Thuringen, formerly in the convent of Weingarten, but now in the King's private library at Stuttgart.<sup>2</sup> The miniatures are highly finished, and executed with great neatness. The style essentially resembles that of the time, but the figures have an air of more solemn dignity, while their severity is often pleasingly softened by an expression of mild and simple grace. Here we find in single heads (especially in those of Christ) traces of ideal beauty, the more surprising, since in other works of the time all the heads are stiff and without grace. At the beginning of this MS. is a calendar, in which each month is ornamented with a figure of its patron saint, and characterised by a country scene. Representations of this kind must have been very rare at so early a period; the costume and occupations throughout belong to the North, and consequently testify that the drawings are the productions of a native school. Then follow, in the Psalms themselves, various subjects, such as

<sup>1</sup> Munich Library. Cod. Lat. Membr. e. p. No. 7, b. c.; No. 13, a. Museum, 1834, No. 21, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Museum, No. 13, p. 97. See Dibdin, 'A Bibliographical and Antiquarian Tour in France and Germany,' vol. iii. p. 158.

the Baptism of Christ, his Death, Descent into hell, Ascension, etc., etc. The feeling in these is excellent, particularly in that which represents the Virgin and John, in a simple attitude of thoughtful sorrow, standing at the feet of the crucified Saviour. After this comes the Litany, over which, in the upper part of the page, are half-length portraits of saints and princes; those of the Landgrave Hermann and his wife Sophia are the first, and in these we see an example, remarkable for so early a period, of an attempt at individual likeness.

A rich and interesting MS., an Evangelium, written about 1200, is in the Cathedral Library at Trèves. It is remarkable for an elaborate and very original representation of the Root of Jesse and other symbolical pictures, which are rendered in a curious style, with numerous inscriptions. Antique personifications—for instance, of river gods—still occur.

A Psalter, written about the same time as the foregoing, and probably in the Rhine country, now in the City Library at Hamburg, No. 85. The beautiful and original conceptions which appear here are evidences of what German art could do in this early period. We may instance the way in which the Child is caressing the Virgin in the Presentation in the Temple; also the large picture of the Madonna and Child, occupying an entire page, which, in the meditative expression conveyed by the action of the Child, recalls Guido da Siena.

An Evangelium, probably written about 1200, in Mayence, now in the Library at Aschaffenburg, No. 3. This is one of the most important documents of the time, both for excellence in art and copiousness of miniatures. It contains a most interesting composition of the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>1</sup>

A Psalter, in the Library at Bamberg, No. 232, unquestionably executed in that city about the first half of the thirteenth century, is of a darker scale of colour. With the exception of a few examples which recall Byzantine types, the fourteen large pictures are of admirable composition, of original conception, and skilful technical execution.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. i. p. 377. &c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. i. p. 103, etc.

The few wall pictures still remaining of this period are sometimes very peculiar in invention, full of symbolical meaning and clever incident. The execution, however, does not extend beyond a rather coarse outline, with faint lights and shadows. Nor is it to be supposed that the large number of such specimens of art as have perished, and of which evidence still survives,<sup>1</sup> should have materially differed from these. I add a few examples of the most important still existing. Twenty-four ceiling compartments in the former monastery of Brauweiler, three leagues from Cologne, which were possibly executed about 1200, represent the power of Faith to overcome the world, from a passage in the 11th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the centre of the whole is the colossal bust picture of Christ. In the other compartments appear those who, by the triumph of their faith, obtained the promises, such as Mary Magdalen and the Thief on the Cross; those who suffered for their faith, such as Daniel and St. Thecla; and those who fought for their faith, such as Samson and St. Hyppolitus, both of whom are distinguished by great beauty of conception.

The fact that painting flourished at an early period in Cologne is shown by a passage in the poem of Parzival, by Wolfram of Eschenbach,<sup>2</sup> written about the year 1200. The only examples surviving may be seen in the Baptistery of St. Gereon, Cologne, where SS. Barbara and Catherine, and a reposing angel, are especially remarkable. These were probably executed soon after the erection of the church in 1227.

<sup>1</sup> See notice of the paintings in the Monastery of Benedictbeuren in Bavaria, in Fiorillo's '*Geschichte der bildenden Künste in Deutschland*,' vol. i. p. 178, etc. Bishops Burcard of Halberstadt, Otto of Bamberg, and Uffo of Merseburg had the walls of their cathedrals decorated with paintings. See Hotho's '*Malerschule Hubert's van Eyck*,' vol. i. p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> The lines are thus quoted by Passavant, p. 403 :—

“Als uns die aventiure gicht  
Von Chölne noch von Mästricht  
Dahein schiltere entwurffen baz  
Denn' als er ufem orse saz.”

That is to say—

“As our tale runs,  
No painter of Cologne or Mästricht  
Could have painted him more comely  
Than as he sat upon his horse.”



Another important memorial of art, dating from about 1200, are the paintings of the Root of Jesse, which cover the whole length, above 100 feet, of the wooden roof of St. Michael's church at Hildesheim. They are in three series. In the centre are Adam and Eve, Abraham, the four kings of Israel, Moses, and the Virgin: at the sides the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Saints. These figures, which are in strict architectonic arrangement, and the decorations surrounding them, show a very respectable grade of art, and are harmonious in colouring and of general clearness of effect.

Of still more importance are the paintings in the choir and in the left aisle of the transept of the cathedral at Brunswick. They are, however, unfortunately deprived of their original character by means of an unskilful restoration. On the walls of the choir, in figures larger than life, and arranged according to symbolical allusion, are the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, the Death of Abel, the Sacrifice of Isaac (typifying the Redemption through the death of Christ), Moses and the Burning Bush, and the Raising of the Brazen Serpent. On the ceiling the scheme of Redemption is more clearly given in the Root of Jesse. The cupola in front of the choir represents the Lamb of the New Covenant, with scenes from the Life of Christ,—from the Nativity to the day of Pentecost,—and the twelve Apostles. The figures of eight Prophets connect these scenes with the Old Testament. On the ceiling of the transept, by a better hand, are Christ and the Virgin enthroned, figures above life-size, with two colossal Angels and the twenty-four Elders. On the east wall are Christ in Limbus, and the Ascension; opposite, in well-known allusion to the Last Judgment, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Judging from the purely Romanesque character of these pictures, and of the decorations belonging to them, they were decidedly executed before the year 1250.

To the termination of this period we may also attribute the wall-paintings in the old chapel of the Castle at Forchheim, a small fortress lying between Bamberg and Erlangen. The chief picture represents the Adoration of the Kings; the others consist of the Last Judgment, the Annunciation,

and Prophets. The conceptions and single motives are good, but belong to traditionary art; the execution is somewhat rude.<sup>1</sup>

Some interesting paintings have at a comparatively recent period come to light in the restoration of the splendid cathedral of Bamberg, on occasion of its being freed from its covering of plaster of many hundred years old. They are in the niches of one of the transept-walls of St. Peter's choir, and must undoubtedly belong to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Easel pictures, in the Byzantine style, are very rare in Germany. As one example of such we may mention a painting representing Christ enthroned on a rainbow, with four saints at his side, which is in the Provincial Museum of Münster, and was taken from the convent of St. Walburg at Soest.<sup>2</sup>

Some works connected with painting, and in this style, though in other materials, are also preserved, such as the paintings on glass which fill the south window of the nave in Augsburg cathedral, and are composed of figures of saints. One of the most important of these examples of the successful efforts made in art towards the end of this period is furnished by the fragments of tapestry preserved in the abbey church of Quedlinburg, woven about the year 1200 by the abbess Agnes herself, with the assistance of her nuns, to adorn the walls of the choir of that church. The subjects are allegorical, and represent the marriage of Mercury with Philology (after Marcianus Capella). The original drawings were evidently by different hands; while some are in the common style of the day, others contain single figures of such beauty of form, and so much symmetry in the limbs, with a cast of drapery so grand, and arranged with so much artistic knowledge, yet so entirely free from the peculiarities of the ancient Christian models, that we may imagine we here see art approaching to full perfection. In the cathedral at Halberstadt there are also tapestries in the Byzantine

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. i. p. 146, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Becker, 'Ueber die altheutschen Gemälde aus dem ehemaligen Augustiner-Nonnen-Kloster St. Walburg zu Soest.' Museum, 1835, No. 47, p. 374.



style, but they are far ruder in the drawing than those of Quedlinburg.

At this epoch also painting in Bohemia exhibits a similar character. The strong Byzantine influence especially is here accounted for by the fact that St. Methodus, the apostle of Bohemia, was himself a painter. Examples are seen in the National Museum at Prague, in the form of the MS. of a Latin Dictionary,<sup>1</sup> dated MCII. and signed Miroslaw, and in the pictures of a Bible in the library of Prince Lobkowitz at Prague, executed about 1250. In this last the tendency to abstract personifications is seen. Thus Darkness (*Tenebre*) is represented by two sleeping figures—Light by a small figure with a torch in its hand.<sup>2</sup>

The art of painting, as practised in the Netherlands, judging from the existing though not numerous MSS. with miniatures, agrees essentially with that of Germany at this period. At the same time Byzantine tradition assumes more the upper hand here, which is owing doubtless to the fact that Counts of Flanders occupied the throne of Constantinople during the so-called Latin Empire. In freedom and animation of early Byzantine subjects, and in drawing and technical development, some of these exhibit great excellence. I give the following examples:—

A Missal in the British Museum (addit. No. 16,949), probably written between 1150 and 1200. Technical skill and beauty of colouring are particularly remarkable here.<sup>3</sup>

A Psalter in the Royal Library at the Hague. This is a very rich and important specimen, especially for scenes from life in the calendar, and for the extraordinary beauty of the Romanesque decorations. It belongs doubtless to the same time.

The chief example, however, known to me is a Psalter in the Imperial Library at Paris (Suppl. Français, No. 1732 bis), written about 1200. In the numerous and admirably executed pictures with which this work is decorated appears (for instance, in the same page containing Christ, the Virgin

<sup>1</sup> See 'Kunstblatt' of 1850, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> 'Kunstblatt,' 1850, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> 'Treasures of Art in Great Britain,' vol. i. p. 122.

and Apostles, etc.) an adherence to Byzantine typical compositions, combined with features taken from life. This is also seen in the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and in a combat of horsemen. Drolleries also occur in the initials.<sup>1</sup>

Another specimen, worthy to be named with the foregoing, is a MS. containing the greater part of the Vulgate, in the same library (MSS. Latins, No. 116). This, though much less rich in contents, gives very favourable evidence of the high grade of art at this time in the Netherlands.

Unfortunately, no specimens of wall or easel pictures of the period under consideration have been, to the best of my knowledge, preserved in the Netherlands. This is the more to be regretted, as in the town of Maestricht, the artists, according to the above-mentioned poem of Parzival, by Wolfram von Eschenbach, enjoyed a great reputation.

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris,' p. 311. Having been misled by Italian miniatures of the 14th century in the latter part of the MS., and by the Byzantine influence also prevailing in Italy from 1200—1300, I have erroneously described this MS. as Italian.

## BOOK II.

## ART OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

1250—1420.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE general introduction of Gothic architecture into the Netherlands and Germany exercised a very unfavourable influence on the development of painting. It was an unfortunate peculiarity of this mode of building that it broke up the space available for painting into fields unsuited for pictorial composition, and placed the vaultings so high as to make subject decoration useless. The result was, that whilst the stunted forms under which Gothic architecture appeared in Italy preserved to the Italians those walls and ceilings which were required for the expansion of monumental art, the men of the Netherlands and Germany were restricted to the production of mere altar pictures. Yet even in this field full liberty was not acquired. The centre compartment—the only space adapted by its size for a comprehensive composition of life-sized figures—was generally engrossed by sculpture, while the wings, which were the only portions left for the painter, were, by their long and narrow forms, so unfavourable to pictorial art that they were usually divided into two, and thus only adapted to figures on a very small scale.

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## CHAPTER I.

THE PERIOD WHEN PAINTING WAS PRINCIPALLY RESTRICTED  
TO THE ILLUMINATION OF OUTLINES.

1250—1350.

THE art of this period indicates progress, in so far that it is original, and, in respect of technical treatment, different from that of the foregoing age. Yet it is not to be denied that this form of originality was accompanied by comparative rudeness; and it is clear that painting on this account was more unattractive now than it had ever been before. In the earlier pictures of this time we trace a mixture of the forms of Romanesque and Gothic sculpture; in those of a later period Gothic feeling alone prevails. The attitudes have a conventional twist, which often gives rise to an ugly projection of the belly. The draperies at first preserve a certain parallelism of line; but they soon display more waving contours, with narrow crests of projection, and equally narrow depths of depression in folds; at the same time the traditions of antique costume are seen to fade, and figures of the Eternal, of Christ, of Mary, or of angels, appear in a new dress. The heads are still of typical form; in the earlier time they are of an oval shape, broad above and contracted below, with wide-open eyes, narrow, pointed noses, and somewhat large mouths drawn down at the corners; in the later period the oval assumes greater fulness, the nose is short, and the mouth small. Outward coarseness and vulgarity is now expressed by caricatures with large crooked noses; spiritual depravity by a distorted laugh; and sorrow, especially, by the drawing down of the corners of the mouth. Occasionally also an attempt is made to realize individuality of feature. Bright and gaudy hues, among which vermilion and a powerful blue play the chief parts, are substituted for quieter tones. Black outlines, rouged cheeks, and thin strips of shadow, give to these pictures the effect of very

gaily illuminated pen-drawings. After the year 1300 the dawning feeling for greater harmony of colour is seen in the use of tertiary tints—for instance, bluish-pink, brownish, greenish, etc.; also in a more careful design and a more delicate distribution of lights and shadows. These examples have already more the effect of paintings. The spaces are only indicated. In the forms of architecture the Romanesque and Gothic alternately prevail; trees are quite conventional in shape, the backgrounds are gilt, and in the miniatures they are also panelled in pattern. In the latter also we occasionally see much originality displayed in pen-drawings.

As every new movement in painting, from this time forward, proceeds from the Netherlands, and as their flourishing political state contrasts conspicuously, from the year 1250, with the wars and disorders in Germany, I shall henceforth commence my observations with Netherlandish examples.

The earliest dated specimen known to me, showing the effort at greater independence, is the MS. of a Vulgate in two folio volumes, in the Library of the Seminary at Liege. The pictures in the initials, heading each book, evince, it is true, no very skilful artist, but they are important as showing by the date, 1248, how early this style of art was practised in the Netherlands.

Close upon the last mentioned in time, though far superior in art, are the coloured pen-drawings in a MS. of the French History of Alexander the Great (No. 11,040) in the Library of the old Dukes of Burgundy at Brussels. The numerous battles are represented with the weapons and in the fashion of the painter's time, of which they give a very animated and intelligent picture. The youthful head of Alexander in the drawing of his interment is not unpoetical.

That single cases long continued to occur in which the old solid treatment in body colour was combined with the new style is proved by the MS. of a Psalter in the same library (No. 8070), executed about 1300, the pen outlines being broad and free, while the heads are often expressive. There is much truth in the rendering of animals; and the various drolleries introduced are anticipations of those of Teniers and Jan Steen.

Another remarkable evidence of the state of painting in the Netherlands, towards the close of this period, is afforded by the miniatures executed, according to an inscription, by "Michiel van der Borch," in 1332, in the MS. of a Bible in Flemish rhymes, by Jacob von Maerland, in the Westrenen Museum at the Hague.<sup>1</sup> The action is often speaking and dramatic. For instance, in the Creation of Eve the sleep of Adam is very correctly expressed, and the Eve very pretty. At the same time the forms are frequently of startling fulness, as seen in the picture of the drowning of the Israelitish children. The folds of the draperies are also treated with unusual breadth. In the Nativity we see the dawning of that realistic feeling in which the Netherlands were destined to precede all other countries.

[Of portable pictures, the only specimen which is known to exist in Belgium is the reliquary of St. Ottilia, an oaken chest with a gabled roof, much mutilated, but still covered with fragments of episodes from the lives of St. Ottilia and St. Ursula. If the pictures themselves be at all like the drawings that have been made from them by M. Jules Helbig, of Liège, they may be accepted as genuine works of the period to which they are assigned, namely, to the year 1292, when the relics of St. Ottilia are said to have been placed in the shrine. This curious work is supposed to have been executed at Liège previous to the transfer thither of the bones of St. Ottilia from the convent of the Croisiers at Huy. The panels, to the number of eight, are outlined in the manner peculiar to this time, and gaudily coloured with pigments tempered in turpentine and wax. The faces, as well as the drapery and ornament, are indicated by lines.]<sup>2</sup>

As regards wall painting, one specimen of this period has been preserved in the former refectory of the old Biloque Hospital at Ghent. It represents, in colossal figures, the Saviour enthroned, blessing the Virgin, who sits opposite to him with raised and clasped hands. Behind them, on a much smaller scale, are three angels holding a canopy. The

<sup>1</sup> See a complete account in an Essay by me in the German 'Kunstblatt' of 1852, No. 28.

<sup>2</sup> [See Le Beffroi, fol., Bruges, 1864-5, Tom. ii., pp. 31 and following.]



whole is enclosed in a framework of a very usual Gothic form. Judging from the style, the execution of this piece was probably not earlier than 1300. Both from the size of the figures and the decided character of the action, the work is one of considerable effect, yet the treatment is slight, and the feet and hands are very feeble in drawing. At the sides, and only in outline, are the figures of John the Baptist with the Lamb, pointing to Christ, and of St. Christopher with the Child.

[Another not uninteresting specimen of art at this period is the wall decoration in the "Leugemeete" (at present part of a brewery) at Ghent—a march of Guildsmen in military dress, fragments of which give us an insight into the state of monumental painting in one of the chief cities of Belgium at the close of the thirteenth, or in the first half of the fourteenth century. The execution is if possible more rude than in the Biloque Hospital.]<sup>1</sup>

Though art in North and South Germany was modified by the influence of the Netherlands, it remained backward in respect of taste and finish; and all examples of this time are marked by clumsy forms and rude outlines. Especially noticeable is the largeness of the heads and the short length of the noses.

A specimen of this Netherlandish influence is afforded by the MS. of a Psalter in the Ambras collection at Vienna, probably executed in some Westphalian convent not long after the year 1300. Within eighty-four circles are a series of pictures from the Creation of the World to the Last Judgment, the outlines of which are meagre indeed, but rendered with a rare precision of pen. Of the same kind are the miniatures in the MS. of the Romance of 'Wilhelm von Oranse,' written for the Landgraf Henry of Hesse in the year 1334, and now in the Royal Library of Cassel. They are remarkable for animated though unskilful movements,

<sup>1</sup> [Compare De Busscher, 'Recherches sur les Peintres Gantois,' 8vo, Ghent, 1859, p. 165; and see for other wall paintings in Belgium and Holland the 'Journal des Beaux Arts,' Brux, 1867, p. 105; ditto, 1870, p. 116; 1860, p. 160; 1863, p. 18; and 1862, p. 15.]



for an occasional attempt at expression in the faces, and also for a good cast of drapery.

In the choir of the Cathedral of Cologne, on the screen surrounding the stalls, are a number of wall paintings—those on the Gospel side showing scenes from the life of St. Peter, and of Pope Sylvester; those on the Epistle side, incidents from the life of the Virgin, and from the legends of the Three Kings. The proportions are good, the action lively, the draperies in good taste, but the heads are still very conventional and of little expression. The thick reddish outlines, and the very slight shadows, place these pictures on a very low scale of development. As they were doubtless executed in 1322, and as, from the circumstance of the choir being considered the holiest place in the cathedral, the best painters were probably chosen, we can have no better opportunity than these pictures afford us for forming conclusions regarding the state of painting in that country; and these conclusions are far from favourable. Below these frescos are all kinds of little drolleries, which, though mannered and coarse in execution, are of spirited invention.<sup>1</sup>

Two easel pictures also in the Cologne Museum—a small altarpiece of a Crucifixion, and the Apostles Paul and John—lead to the same unfavourable verdict on this form of art.

I may mention two more instances of paintings, which occur towards the end of this period. On a low space in the Ehinger House at Ulm figures of men seated two and two probably represent the prophets. A man with a dog, and a woman with a monkey, upon the entrance gate, are very animated. Although these have been subjected to later restorations, yet it is easy to perceive the low stage of art and homely treatment which characterised them. An antependium in the church of the Fräuleinstift at Lüne contains the crucified Saviour and scenes of the Passion, executed in a rude form by an artist of about 1250.

As regards the application of painting to secular subjects, two MSS. containing the songs of the Troubadours are interesting. At the head of each poem its contents are

<sup>1</sup> [These paintings are now concealed under a panelling covered with tapestry.]

usually embodied in an appropriate form of occupation. Not that any portrait-like attempt at individuality is made—on the contrary, the type of the period prevails in a somewhat coarse form. The black outlines are broad and bold, and the colouring is very slight and rough. These works exhibit just that style of drawing which served as a model to the woodcuts of the next century. The earliest of these MSS., executed about 1280, and formerly in the convent of Weingarten in Swabia, is now in the private library of the King of Würtemberg at Stuttgart. It is the work of a moderate artist, though the figures are often animated. More important is the other manuscript, of about the year 1300, which formerly belonged to Rüdiger Manesse at Zürich, and is now in the Paris Library.<sup>1</sup> The figures resemble, for the most part, those in the former manuscript, to which they are so similar that either they have been copied from it, or both have been taken from a common model. In the Paris manuscript, however, the size is larger, and the technical execution rather more worthy of an artist, while the feeling for the peculiar circumstances of each subject is more delicate, and the style in which they are conceived and treated has greater truth and spirit. Sometimes the poet is represented alone, and sometimes with his lady-love, it may be in the character of a hardy huntsman, or of an armed knight. In some the meditative feeling and reflection of the poet are admirably expressed, as in the figure of Henry of Veldeck, who sits amongst flowers and birds, thoughtfully resting his head upon his hand; or in that of Reinmar der Zweter, who is placed on an elevated seat, and dictates to two secretaries busily occupied at his side. The portrait of the Hardegger is very gracefully treated. He lies under a tree, a falcon on his wrist; his head supported on the lap of his mistress, who is bending tenderly over him. The movements, indeed, particularly in difficult attitudes, are not always easy or natural, and of this defect the last-named drawing affords an instance; yet, for the most part, the feeling for form is

<sup>1</sup> Professor von der Hagen, of Berlin, has published many of the illuminations of this manuscript, under the title 'Bildersaal altdeutscher Dichter. Berlin, 1856. T. A. Stargardt.'

rather purer, and the drapery generally falls in beautiful and well-chosen lines.<sup>1</sup> Larger works of another kind, with the general type of the German style more or less strongly marked on them, are not numerous ; such as painted glass for church-windows, and tapestry. A piece of the latter, of remarkable dimensions, may be observed in the church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg, the principal subject of which is taken from the history of the Prodigal Son.

It is probable that art in Bohemia advanced beyond that of Germany at this time. This is strikingly attested by the miniatures in a *Passionale* executed for Kunigunde, sister of King Ottocar II. of Bohemia, and Abbess of the convent of St. George at Prague, painted in 1316 by Colda, a Dominican friar, and now in the University Library at Prague. The animation of the action ; the fine taste shown in the large folds of the drapery, which is cast, it is true, after the model of Gothic sculpture ; and the good drawing, are all surprising, considering the period. The sleeping figure of Adam, in the Creation of Eve, may in all respects be compared with contemporary Italian figures. Various inventions of attractive character may be designated as nationally Bohemian. For instance, the representation of the Magdalen, who, in presence of SS. John and Peter, announces to the recumbent Virgin the Resurrection of Christ ; also the intensity of feeling in the meeting of Christ and his mother after the Resurrection.<sup>2</sup>

Equally remarkable is the series of wall paintings in the castle of Neuhaus in Bohemia, in which scenes from the legend of St. George are depicted in the fashion of the first years of the fourteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Museum, 1834, No. 5, p. 35 ; No. 11, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> German 'Kunstblatt,' 1850, p. 155, etc.

<sup>3</sup> See Wocel, 'Wandgemälde der St. George Legende.' Wien, 1859.

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## CHAPTER II.

DEVELOPMENT OF PAINTING IN ITS MORE INDEPENDENT  
CHARACTER.

1350—1420.

THE new pictorial feeling, which we observed dawning as early as 1300, expanded greatly as the century advanced ; and before the turn of 1350, artists had already substituted a softer painted contour for the hard and wiry outline of their predecessors. In unison with the rest of the treatment, these contours are broader as well as softer ; the transitions from lights to shadows become more delicate and melting ; harmoniously broken tints replace the crude and gaudy colouring hitherto practised, and herald the coming of a more refined practice. At the same time blue and vermilion are longest retained in their former unbroken force. Nor was this awakening feeling for truth and nature unaccompanied by improvement in the shape of heads. A new and more select form, founded on observation of life, began to show itself. The oval of the face became more delicate, the mouths and noses finer—the latter retaining somewhat the hooked form in males. The types assumed a very pleasing character, in which the prevailing religious spirit of the period, spiritual purity, manly dignity, and feminine gentleness, began to be expressed by simple but distinct signs. In figures representing profane persons more natural variety and lively expressions are perceptible. These improvements are accompanied by more elevated and subdued action, and drapery of soft line exhibits a more refined taste. The drawing of the nude alone remains in a backward state—the forms are generally spare, and the feet too small, though the hands are often of happy action. One peculiar and very prevalent branch of painting at this time consists in pictures dexterously executed in monochrome. Gold grounds become more limited in extent, and the space of the back-

ground is more and more copiously expressed by buildings either of Romanesque or Gothic character, by trees and hills of conventional forms, and by the introduction of all kinds of house utensils. Even as early as the commencement of this period gold grounds are often replaced by the indication of a blue sky ; indeed, as early as toward the year 1380 landscape backgrounds of very creditable character begin to occur. To all appearance this new impulse in art, and especially the development of the space of the background, proceeded from the Netherlands. In the extreme rarity of pictures of a larger size, the destruction of which may be accounted for in various ways, we must be content chiefly with the evidence furnished by miniatures, of which happily a rich store exists.

At the head of this period, and in many respects reminiscent of the previous one, may be placed a Bible in the Imperial Library at Paris (MSS. Français, No. 6829 bis), containing no less than 5124 pen-drawings, washed with Indian ink, representing the types and antitypes from the New and Old Testament, and executed by a very intelligent artist.<sup>1</sup> In close affinity with these are the miniatures of a missal, designed by the Presbyter Lorenz of Antwerp, in 1366, at Ghent, and now in the Westrenen Museum at the Hague.<sup>2</sup> These also remind us of the preceding period ; but the outlines are softly drawn with the brush, the forms are truer to nature, and the folds of the drapery are more tenderly blended. In some pictures, for instance in the Nativity, the Byzantine form of conception is still retained ; single episodes show a steady observation of nature.

Of later date, and of great interest, are the miniatures executed in 1371 by one JOHN OF BRUGES, painter to King Charles V. of France, which decorate a translation of the Vulgate now in the Westrenen Museum at the Hague. At the commencement of the volume Charles V. is represented in profile, with a figure kneeling before him, who, we are informed by a dedication in French verse in the MS., was one Jehan Vaudetar, who presented this Bible to the King.

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris,' p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> German 'Kunstblatt,' 1852, No. 28.



Both heads are portraits of thorough individuality. A few small historical subjects also, fol. 467—the Nativity, the Adoration of the Kings, and the Flight into Egypt—give further evidence of the existence of Netherlandish painters who, a generation before the Van Eycks, had, even in this department of art, attained great proficiency. The free and lively movements and truthful forms which we meet with here were obviously taken from nature, as also the drapery and style of modelling.

Very important testimony, as regards the latter part of this period, is given by the miniatures in a MS. of the travels of Marco Polo, and six other well-known travellers, now in the Imperial Library at Paris (MSS. Français, No. 8392), which, there is reason to believe, were executed between 1384 and 1405, for Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.<sup>1</sup> Here we see the form of art peculiar to this time already fully developed; the cheerful and harmonious colouring especially is characteristic of that feeling for tone which was ultimately the excellence of Netherlandish art; but the drawing is proportionably defective.

Next in point of time we may quote the Prayer-book of Margaret of Bavaria, wife to John Sans Peur of Burgundy (1389)—now in the British Museum (Harleian, No. 2897). The greater number of the miniatures, which are very beautiful, are by Flemings.<sup>2</sup> Among these may be mentioned those referring to King David, fol. 28 b, 42 b, and 72 b. To a hand of more realistic tendency may be assigned the Preaching of St. Ambrose, fol. 160 a; and finally to one of more idealising character, the Unbelief of St. Thomas, fol. 164 a, and the principal picture, the Ascension, fol. 188 b.

Of still higher importance is a Prayer-book with miniatures by different limners, in the Bodleian (Douce, 144), which, according to an inscription on one of its pages, was finished in 1407. I can only point to a few of the most remarkable pieces. The occupations of the month, and the signs of the Zodiac, in the Calendar; the Virgin, to whom an angel is bringing bread and wine, fol. 10 a; the Annun-

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris,' p. 331, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 'Art Treasures in Great Britain,' vol. i. p. 124.



ciation, fol. 28 a; the Visitation, fol. 52 a; and two processions, 105 a, and 108 and 109. Here a delicate feeling for individuality is already perceptible, with an animation and truth, for instance, in the singing chorister boys, not surpassed by the celebrated work of that subject by Luca della Robbia. The Crucifixion, fol. 111 a: although the Christ is too tall here, yet the whole conception is elevated, and the sorrow of the fainting Virgin is as earnestly as it is beautifully expressed. Finally the Virgin nursing the Child, fol. 123 a.<sup>1</sup>

A few years later in time and not less important in art are the miniatures of another Prayer-book in the British Museum (additional No. 16,997), by a Fleming. The following are most worthy of notice:—The Annunciation, in which three singing angels show a high stage of development—the Adoration of the Shepherds—the Descent of the Holy Ghost—All Saints—the Virgin reading—the four Fathers of the Church—both the St. Johns—the celebration of the Mass—and especially the Crucifixion, and the Assumption of the Virgin, which, both in arrangement and style, show a great artist.<sup>2</sup>

Another MS., in the British Museum, the Poems of Christina of Pisa (Harleian, No. 4431), contains various good pictures by Flemish painters, which as specimens of the conception of secular subjects, and also of subjects borrowed from mythology, are very remarkable. Among them are, a pretty young woman kneeling before a man, and the Marriage of Peleus, in which the feast is spread on three tables of the form of the time.<sup>3</sup>

[In treating of the miniatures of this period, we seldom, if ever, learn the name of the person who designed them, but we frequently read that of the princes for whom they were executed. The last count of the House of Flanders, Louis

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 75, etc. [There is nothing more remarkable in this Prayer-book than that it reminds us of Melchior Broederlam's altar-chest at Dijon, not only in respect of composition and action, but in respect of technical execution and minutiae. The altar-chest will be found described in these pages.]

<sup>2</sup> 'Treasures of Art,' vol. i. p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

de Male, and the first dukes of the House of Valois, Philip the Hardy and John Sans Peur, were princes to whose patronage the arts owed much of their expansion and progress; and we can scarcely doubt that, but for the support which they gave to artists of every class, Belgium would not have ranked so high as it does in pictorial annals as the cradle of a school of painting. History has preserved the names of many craftsmen who took service with the Counts of Flanders and Dukes of Burgundy. We may note a few of them:—Jean Van der Asselt, painter to Louis de Male at Ghent, from 1364 to 1380, subsequently employed (1386) by Philip the Hardy; Jean de Beaumez, “painter and valet” to Philip (1377 to 1395); Jean Malwel, “painter and valet” to Philip and Jean Sans Peur (1397 to 1415); Melchior Broederlam of Ypres, “painter and valet” to Philip the Hardy (1382—1400); Henri Bellechouse de Brabant, “painter and valet” to Jean Sans Peur (1415). There is every reason to believe that Van der Asselt is the master to whom we owe (1373) the wall paintings in the chapel of Louis de Male at Notre Dame of Courtrai; and this mutilated example is evidence of the low level at which monumental art remained in Belgium at the close of the fourteenth century. The object of Louis de Male in decorating the chapel of Courtrai was to preserve the likenesses of the princes of the House of Flanders; and it is interesting to observe that the line of portraits which was executed by his orders was continued by command of the princes of the House of Burgundy. Unhappily the heads of all the figures were hacked out of the wall; and nothing is left but the legs and arms and torso, together with the heraldic arms of each personage. But what remains is tinted with flat colours, and defined by lines, in the spirit of the miniatures of the time.<sup>1</sup>

That the practice of wall-painting should have remained unaltered in Belgium till the close of the fourteenth century is a remarkable circumstance, which leads us to conclude that the artists of this period had scarcely advanced beyond the stage of illuminating. Given the form in a monument of

<sup>1</sup> [See an outline of these figures and descriptions in De Busscher's ‘*Peintres Gantois*,’ 8vo. Gand, 1859, p. 47.]





PICTURES ON AN ALTARCHIESE AT DIJON





PICTURES ON AN ALTAR-CHEST AT DIJON.







PICTURES ON AN ALTARCHEST AT DIJON.





PICTURES ON AN ALTARCHEST AT DIJON

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stone, or the outline in a mural decoration, painters were equally satisfied in both cases to cover the surfaces with flat colours. Nature, in the one instance, furnished the necessary shadows, which, in the other, painters were as yet too careless to supply. That they practised both systems indifferently we learn from the study of the lives of Malwel, Broederlam, and even Roger van der Weyden. Of Jean de Beaulieu's works we know nothing. Malwel's portrait of Jean Sans Peur is not to be traced ; but an important proof of Broederlam's skill is preserved in the wings of a carved altar-table by Jacques de Baerse of Termonde, the principal parts of which are in the Museum of Dijon.] The subjects represented, as the annexed woodcuts show, are the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Presentation, and the Flight into Egypt. They occupy the boundary-line between the style of this period and the realistic feeling of that which succeeds it. The forms of the heads are still roundish and soft, and occasionally, as in those of the Virgin and Simeon in the Presentation (which is the most successfully treated), exhibit a delicate feeling for beauty, and at the same time a certain individuality of character. Joseph in the Flight into Egypt is even coarsely realistic. The folds of the drapery are still soft, but the colours have assumed a clearness and power which borders on gaudiness. In the fullish forms no study of nature is yet perceptible ; the backgrounds, rocks and trees, are still of conventional form, and the skies are gold ground.

Other specimens of church pictures have survived, which do not come up to the standard of their time as representations of a larger scale of painting.

The first, originally produced for the Tanners' Hall in Bruges, is now in the cathedral of that town. The subject is the Crucifixion, with figures about two-thirds the size of life. The Christ is rather long and meagre, but not badly drawn. He is already lifeless. On the right is St. John, with the Virgin fainting ; she is of very noble form, supported by two holy women. On the left, in violent and rather clumsy action, is the Centurion, in silver armour, with a guard, a priest, and a monk. At the sides in niches

are St. Barbara and St. Catherine. The expression of the heads is lively, the colouring of the flesh feeble, and the modelling poor ; the background is gilt, with a pattern.

The second picture, also the Crucifixion, was formerly in the church of St. John at Utrecht, and is now in the Museum at Antwerp, No. 519. It includes only the figures of the Virgin and St. John, with the kneeling portrait of the Archdeacon Heinrich von Ryn, who died in 1360, and upon whose monument, in St. John's church, this picture was erected. The Christ is of similar conception to that above described, but displays less skill. The portrait also is characterised by no signs of individuality. The best parts are the gestures and expression of sorrow of St. John. The ground is here also gilt, with a pattern.

In Bohemia the style of this period seems to have been developed earlier than elsewhere. The artists of this country made considerable progress under the reign of the Emperor Charles IV. (reigned 1348-78), who did his utmost in order to advance his favourite Bohemia in this respect. Many miniatures in still existing MSS. give very favourable evidence of the state of art in Bohemia, of which they are better exponents than a number of ruined wall and panel pictures. The painters principally employed by the Emperor were THEODORICH OF PRAGUE, NICOLAUS WURMSER of Strasburg, and one KUNZ. The chief locality of their labours was the Castle of Karlstein in the vicinity of Prague, the favourite residence of Charles IV. To decide what is the particular work of each of these painters among the surviving pictures which adorn the church of our Lady, the chapel of St. Catherine, and the church of the Holy Cross, or Royal Chapel, would, considering the vagueness of all traditions, and the various restorations which have been made, be extremely difficult. Those parts which are generally attributed to Theodorich of Prague consist of 125 half-length figures, larger than life, of saints, teachers, and rulers of the Church, executed in tempera on panel, and decorating the church of the Holy Cross. They show an excellent painter in the forms of art belonging to the beginning of this period. The heads of the men consist of two rather monotonously



repeated types of much earnestness and dignity. The forms are somewhat broad and ungraceful, and the large noses with their broad ridges may be recognised as a native Bohemian peculiarity. The female heads, on the other hand, are of nobler and more refined forms. The wide-open eyes are characteristic of the Bohemian school. The movement of the figures is usually good, the hands full in form and well put in action; the draperies, in the well-known type, with large folds softly modelled in broken colours. In the colouring of the heads a certain alternation may be perceived. Some are of a tender, coolish red, others more warmly tinted; a light grey prevails in the half-tones and shadows. The fused treatment often degenerates into excessive softness. The accessories frequently exhibit a happy aim at truth of nature, as, for instance, the desk, bookstand, and pens in the picture of St. Ambrose, which formed one of this series, though now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna; two others have also been transferred to the University Library at Prague. Akin to these pictures is an altarpiece in the Gallery of the Estates of Bohemia at Prague, from the Provost's house at Raunitz on the Elbe, containing the Virgin and Child adored by the Emperor Charles IV. and his son Wenceslaus, and SS. Sigismund and Wenceslaus in the upper part; and below, the patron saints of Bohemia, SS. Procopius, Adalbert, Vitus, and Ludmilla, with the donor of the picture, Oczko von Wlassim, archbishop of Prague. The heads of the saints are elevated in form and pure in expression. Considering the date of the picture, 1375, the portraits are of surprising individuality. A Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John, originally also executed for the Castle of Karlstein, and now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, is a somewhat feebler work by the same master, to whom Van Mechel, the well-known editor of the Catalogue of that collection in the time of Joseph II., assigned the name of Nicolas Wurmser.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See Wurmser's 'Diploma of Service under Charles IV.,' dated 1359, and printed in full in 'Hister. Nuremberg, Diplom.,' p. 384, No. 161, quoted in Schreiber (H.) *Das Münster zu Strasburg*, 8vo. Karlsruhe, 1829, p. 95.]

[An altarpiece of 1385, executed for St. Veits at Mühlhausen in Würtemberg, but subsequently transferred to the house of the Society of Antiquaries in Stuttgart, deserves to be noted here as a work of the Bohemian school of this period. The principal figures represented are Bohemian saints, St. Wenzel, St. Vitus, and St. Sigismund.]<sup>1</sup>

The paintings in the Castle of Karlstein are obviously by four different hands. One of them, TOMMASO DA MODENA, the author of the existing remnants of an altarpiece in several compartments, inasmuch as he belongs to the Italian school, concerns us only so far as he exerts a very decisive influence in the form of heads, and in other respects, over two of the other painters. A second hand may be traced in the following works:—Scenes from the Apocalypse, in the church of our Lady, the Virgin being represented as the winged woman with the Child; of grand and elevated conception. The Virgin again, of still finer invention, fleeing before the seven-headed dragon, which is admirably rendered. Another large picture, not so easy of interpretation, is probably the Adoration of Antichrist. In the church of the Holy Cross, also from the Apocalypse, are, the Almighty enthroned in a Mandorla, surrounded by choirs of angels, the seven stars in the one hand, the book with seven seals in the other; the Adoration of the Lamb by the twenty-four elders; the Annunciation; the Visitation; the Adoration of the Three Kings; Christ with Martha and Mary; the Magdalen anointing the feet of Christ; Christ as the Gardener; and the Raising of Lazarus. These ruined pictures (query, by Wurmser?) show ample power of invention, refined feeling for composition, and skilful treatment. To the third hand the following, in the church of our Lady, may be ascribed:—Charles IV. delivering to Blanka his wife the cross which he had received in Rome from the Pope; the same monarch presenting his son Wenceslaus with a ring; and again in prayer. The author of these subjects (query, Kunz?) appears as a very skilful portrait-painter. The graceful forms and action of his hands

<sup>1</sup> [Compare Ulm's 'Kunstleben,' by Grüneisen and Mauch, p. 12; Waagen, 'Kunst. in Baiern,' etc., ii. 226; and Heideloff, 'Die Kunst. in Schwaben,' fol. Stuttgart, 1855, p. 37.]

are especially remarkable. By the fourth master are the portraits of the Emperor Charles IV., and Anne of the Palatinate, his fourth wife, both holding a cross, over the entrance to the St. Catherine's chapel. Within the chapel is the Virgin, of quite Giottesque form of face, giving her hand to the Empress Anne, and the Child giving his hand to the Emperor. The painter has been most successful in the portraits, especially in that of the Empress.<sup>1</sup>

The wall paintings in the chapel of St. Wenceslaus in the Cathedral at Prague are so over painted as to offer no means of forming an opinion. The most important picture of the whole school is said to be in the church of the fortress of the Wissehrad at Prague.

A large mosaic, on the south side of the exterior of the Cathedral of Prague, remains still to be noticed. It is divided into three compartments; in the middle is Christ in a glory, surrounded by angels, six Bohemian saints below him, and still lower the donors, Charles IV. and his wife; on the left is the virgin with several saints, and below is the Resurrection. On the right is seen John the Baptist, with saints, and underneath are the condemned. The style of this work is again rather rude, and only worthy of notice, as a whole, on account of its execution in mosaic, which rarely occurs in Germany.

On the other hand, a number of MSS. with miniatures give ample materials for judgment, and show more properly the peculiarity and great significance of the Bohemian school at this period. At the same time, many of these specimens agree so entirely with contemporary French and Netherlandish miniatures, that there can be no doubt that Charles IV., who, at an earlier time, resided in Paris, must have summoned French painters to Prague, or Bohemian painters to Paris. It will suffice here to mention a few of the most remarkable MSS. with miniatures.

Two Prayer-books belonging to Archbishop Ernest of Prague, died 1350: one of them in the Library of Prince Lobkowitz at Prague; the other and richer one, in which the artist designates himself by the name of Sbinko de

<sup>1</sup> [This "fourth master" is none other than Tommaso da Modena.]

Trotina, in the Library of the National Museum of that city. Both serve to prove that the style of art characteristic of this period was fully, and consequently very early, developed.

The MS. of an Essay on the Doctrines of Christian Truth, executed in 1373 by Thomas Stitney, and now in the University Library at Prague (xvii. A b), shows how early the Bohemians began to treat the common events of daily life with vivacity, taste, and feeling for beauty. The most remarkable pictures are of a youth and a beautiful girl (fol. 37 b); several young women dedicating themselves as the Brides of Christ (fol. 44 b); and a woman praying (fol. 124 a).<sup>1</sup>

Next in order may be mentioned the miniatures in the German translation of the Bible executed by order of the Emperor Wenceslaus, reigned 1378-1400, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

The admirable miniatures also in a missal belonging to Sbinko Hasen von Hasenburg, appointed Archbishop of Prague 1402, and who died as Archbishop of Presburg in 1411, now in the same library, show that the school continued to advance in excellence till towards the conclusion of the period. I may mention the Adoration of the Kings, and the Baptism of Christ, as particularly excellent.

An Evangelarium, written by a priest of the name of Johann von Troppau, for Albrecht II., Archduke of Austria, and adorned with very fine miniatures—now in the Library at Vienna—serves to prove that the Bohemian school had also taken root in the province of Moravia, then a dependency of Bohemia.<sup>2</sup> The same may be said of Silesia, then similarly situated, which is evidenced by two pictures proceeding from a convent in Silesia, now in the Berlin Museum; the one (No. 1221) the Mocking of Christ, the other (No. 1219) the Crucifixion. Both exhibit a skilful master, who may have flourished about 1400. [These are now withdrawn.]

But in Austria also this style of art attained a peculiar development. A brilliant example of this is afforded by the

<sup>1</sup> See further account of these three MSS. in the German 'Kunstblatt' of 1850, No. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., No. 38.

miniatures in the MS. of a German translation of Durandus' *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, in the Imperial Library. These were commenced for the same Duke Albert II., and completed for his nephew Archbishop William. The miniatures, which may be safely assigned to the period between 1384 and 1403, are equal, in point of art, to the best Bohemian paintings, but are distinguished from them by greater force of colour and decision of forms. The best of them combine good arrangement and drawing with delicate heads and a blooming flesh-tone. The Last Supper, and the Last Judgment, are especially remarkable. The portraits of the above-mentioned princes, which occur in various parts, show a happy aim at individuality.

The style of this period in Germany is seen to attain its noblest form in the last decades of the fourteenth, and first of the fifteenth century, in the city of Cologne. That spiritual calm, peaceful bliss, and untroubled moral purity which religion alone engenders, is expressed in a rare degree in the Cologne school. In perfect agreement with this character are the harmoniously broken colouring, the tender tints of the flesh, the moderate nature of the modelling, and the soft and fused style of the execution. The weak side of this school, in which powerful expression and dramatic subjects were least affected, was the deficiency of knowledge as to the anatomical structure of the human frame. The difficulty of assigning the artist's name to the surviving specimens of Cologne art is far greater than in the Bohemian school. From a passage in the Limburg Chronicle, 1380, which runs thus—"In this time there was a painter in Cologne of the name of Wilhelm; he was considered the best master in all German Land; he paints every man, of whatever form, as if he were alive"—from this passage the custom arose of attributing the best pictures in Cologne and the vicinity, of this period, to MEISTER WILHELM. And true as this conjecture may be in some instances, we must not forget that there is no certainty as to the real origin of one single picture.

[It has been considered probable that the earliest work assignable to Meister Wilhelm was the Crucifixion with



saints in a niche above the monument to bishop Kuno (ob. 1388) in St. Castor of Coblenz ; yet it has also been acknowledged that the value of this relic was altogether impaired by restoration. The truth is, that if we assign this wall painting to Meister Wilhelm, we dispute his identity with the only painter who bore the name of Wilhelm at the close of the fourteenth century. Wilhelm of Herle was in practice at Cologne from 1358 to 1372, and there are proofs of his death in 1378.<sup>1</sup> Payments made to him in 1372, "*ad pingendum librum juramentorum*," are preserved ; and there is every reason to believe that the same person is alluded to in subsequent entries of the civic accounts, in which moneys are paid to the "painter who painted" the butcher's hall, the banner and wimples of the city, and the town hall.<sup>2</sup> It has been urged that a master whose death occurred in 1378 could not have been mentioned as "of this time" in a chronicle of 1380 ; and yet the writer of a chronicle composed in Limburg might easily fall into a mistake of this kind, and his words are elastic enough to show that he aimed at no precision of date. During the recent restoration of the Hanseatic Hall in the Rathhaus of Cologne, three heads, the solitary remnants of the paintings noted in the accounts, were freed from superincumbent whitewash, and revealed a painter of considerable merit, whose skill was quite equal to the production of the pictures attributed to Meister Wilhelm, and whose manner was characteristic of a master of the fourteenth century.]<sup>3</sup>

Worthy of the great name of Meister Wilhelm, and far superior to the Crucifixion of Coblenz, are some portions of the numerous pictures which once adorned the altarpiece and wings in the church of St. Clara, and which are now in the chapel of St. John in the Cathedral of Cologne. These comprise the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Bathing of the Infant, the Adoration of the Kings, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, and the scenes

<sup>1</sup> [Merlo, 'Die Meister der Altköln. Malerschule,' 8vo. Köln, 1852, pp. 31, 39.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Ennen in 'Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Nieder Rhein,' 7er Heft. Köln, 1859.]

<sup>3</sup> [See outlines in Schnaase's 'Geschichte der Bildenden Künste,' 6 Bd. p. 425. The fragments are in the Cologne Museum.]



from the Passion in the centre compartment. The other portions are by a less important hand, only partially related to Meister Wilhelm.

In connection with these works may be mentioned a picture in the Berlin Museum [withdrawn]. This consists of thirty-four compartments, representing scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin, from the Annunciation to the Last Judgment, of animated and often admirable composition, delicate tone of colouring, and light and spirited treatment.

Next in order comes a small altarpiece with wings, in the Museum at Cologne. The head of the Virgin, who is caressed by the Child, exhibits in the fullest extent the purity of character, sweetness of expression, and softness and delicate tone of flesh peculiar to this school. The figures of SS. Catherine and Barbara have also the tenderness characteristic of the master. Greatly resembling this is a small altarpiece, No. 1238, in the Museum at Berlin, with the Virgin and Child and four female Saints in the centre compartment, and SS. Elizabeth of Hungary and Agnes on the wings.

A picture of St. Veronica with the Sudarium, at Munich, Cabinets No. 15, furnishes a very fine example of this manner, a more careful execution and warmer colouring being combined with the same purity and tenderness of feeling.<sup>1</sup>

Passing over several other works attributed with more or less justice to Meister Wilhelm, I will only observe that the number of pictures in and about Cologne—for instance, in a closed chapel in the Cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, evidently painted in his manner—are considerable. At Cologne these specimens are chiefly to be found in the Museum, and in the chapel of the Town Hall. A small Crucifixion also, in the collection of the late Mr. Dietz, is particularly remarkable. Others, originally in Cologne, have accompanied the Boisserée collection to Munich; some also have made their way to the chapel of St. Maurice at Nuremberg. The Garden of Eden, in the Prehn collection in the Frankfort Library, is a small but very attractive picture. The cheerful and naïve form of

<sup>1</sup> [Opinions may still differ as to whether this picture be by the same hand as those of Berlin and Cologne.]

conception is in strict unison with the tender execution and gay colouring. The fact that the influence of this master extended to Guelders, the neighbouring province of Holland, is evident by the miniatures in a Dutch Prayer-book, belonging to Maria, Duchess of Guelders, of the year 1415, now in the Royal Library at Berlin.

The most beautiful specimen of this early German art I know in England is a small altarpiece with wings, containing numerous figures of very elevated style and tender execution. It belongs to Mr. Beresford Hope.<sup>1</sup>

A close affinity with the Cologne school is also distinctly seen in the style of art which prevailed in Westphalia. I need only instance those pictures of SS. Dorothea and Ottilia, originally from Soest, now in the Town Museum at Münster. They show a master of elevation and refinement, nearly related to Meister Wilhelm in style, but more independent in character, and in many respects more advanced.

A large picture, formerly in St. Michael's church at Lüneburg, now in the public gallery at Hanover, consisting of numerous, and in parts interesting, paintings of about the commencement of the fifteenth century, shows that, without being dependent on the school of Cologne, the style of this period had spread also into the region of Lower Saxony.

Next to Prague and Cologne, the city of Nuremberg may be considered as a central point of art. The fine sculptures by Schonhofer which adorn the exterior and interior of the porch of the church of our Lady, and which were completed in 1361, evidently assisted much in this local development. Without deviating from the general character of this period, greater knowledge and observation of the human figure are apparent here than in the Bohemian and Cologne schools; modelling and colouring are also both more powerful.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, however, no painters' names have descended to us with their works, and only in a few instances does an inscribed date afford an accurate standard of their time.

<sup>1</sup> 'Galleries and Cabinets, etc., in Great Britain,' p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> See further in 'Künstler und Kunstwerke in Deutschland,' vol. i. p. 165, etc., and 247, etc. Also Hotho, 'Malerschule Huberts v. Eyck,' vol. i. p. 291, etc.: and R. v. Rettberg, 'Nürnberg's Kunstleben,' 8vo. Stuttgart, 1854.

An altarpiece, founded by a member of the noble family of Imhof—the chief portions in the gallery of the church of St. Lawrence—may be adjudged to the last decade of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The centre compartment of the inner side contains the Coronation of the Virgin, and the wings four Apostles. The head of the Virgin, with downcast eyes, is of unusual beauty of form; her figure also slender and of elevated character, and the folds of her blue drapery of much purity of taste. The conception of the Saviour, who is crowned and looking at his mother, is serious and dignified. The flesh-tones of the Virgin are delicate, those of the Christ of a warm brownish tint with whitish lights. The reverse of the altarpiece represents in the centre compartment a Pietà with the Virgin and St. John, and on the wings four other apostles. In point of merit it nearly equals the front side. The expression of past suffering in the head of the dead Christ is especially fine; the nude is but weakly rendered. The apostles are variously and worthily characterised. This portion of the altarpiece is in the castle at Nuremberg.

But a little later in date are the four wings of an altarpiece, which, according to tradition, was executed for the Deichsler family in 1400, and placed in St. Catherine at Nuremberg, now in the Berlin Museum, No. 1207-1210. They represent the Virgin, who, here also, is very delicately formed, and the Child, the latter very meagre; St. Peter Martyr, of great energy of character, and glowing colour; St. Elizabeth of Thüringen, of mild and delicate aspect; and John the Baptist. In the lively action of the last-named saint is seen the energy which characterises Gothic sculpture, while the warmly coloured head, with the aquiline nose, cleverly expresses eagerness. In the drawing of hands and feet these pictures are defective.

The fact that the style of art peculiar to Nuremberg was generally diffused throughout all Franconia is proved by a picture on the monument of Berthold, Bishop of Eichstadt,

<sup>1</sup> [It is probably incorrect to assign this picture to the fourteenth century. It is decorated with the arms of Kunz Imhof and three of his wives, but not with the arms of his fourth wife, whom he married in 1422. Kunz Imhof died in 1449. His third wife, Elizabeth Schatzin, whom he married in 1418, died in 1421. See Von Rettberg, u. s., p. 48.]

in the church at Heilsbron, who died in 1365. The Virgin, who is very fine in form and expression, approaches that on the altarpiece belonging to the Imhof family, and, even if not executed immediately after the Bishop's death, belongs decidedly still to the fourteenth century. The portrait was probably rather individualised by a restoration which took place in 1497.<sup>1</sup>

In Swabia also the style of this period attained a very respectable development. We see this in various pictures, belonging to the latter part of this time, which are preserved in the Stuttgardt Museum. Two large pictures on panel, Nos. 414 and 416, the one containing the Evangelists Mark and Luke, with St. Paul, the other, St. John the Evangelist, with SS. Dorothea and Margaret, formerly in the church of Almendingen, near Ehrlingen, bear evidence of an excellent hand. The same may be said of two other large panel pictures, from the monastery of Heiligkreutzthal in Upper Swabia, Nos. 428 and 441 in the Stuttgardt Museum, ascribed to F. Herlen, representing the Entombment, and the Procession of the Three Kings.

Finally we may mention another direction taken by art, differing from all the preceding as respects greater truth of nature and drawing, though with less expression of feeling, and which is evidenced by three fragments of pictures in the Berlin Museum—the Marriage of St. Catherine, No. 1232 ; two angels holding a tabernacle, No. 1231 ; and St. Peter, No. 1220. The locality, however, whence these pictures proceed is unfortunately unknown. [All three are now withdrawn.]<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See note to page 47.]

<sup>2</sup> The student who visits the Berlin Gallery will find that several pictures described in these volumes, especially those of the earlier schools, are wanting. The researches of Dr. Julius Meyer and Dr. Wilhelm Bode, authors of the recent Catalogue of the Berlin Collection, A.D. 1878, have resulted in some instances in a more correct attribution, in others in the rejection of works whose authenticity has not hitherto been questioned, only because they have not been subjected to the same amount of skilful and competent criticism.

## BOOK III.

## FIFTEENTH CENTURY ART.

1420—1530.

COMPLETE DEVELOPMENT OF ART IN THE SPIRIT OF THE  
MIDDLE AGES.

## CHAPTER I.

THE BROTHERS VAN EYCK.

THE Flemings, who were so greatly distinguished as artists in the fourteenth century, were now the first to work out the destiny of Northern painting by embodying the spirit of their age into forms peculiar to themselves. What they strove to attain was a faithful copy of nature in outline, colour, light, and perspective. An amiable spirit of realism, which was quite exclusively their own, led them to reproduce the quaint interiors, furniture, and articles of daily use which were common to the households of the time ; and in this pursuit they were patient, untiring, and methodical. It has never been stated, yet deserves to be explained, that this highly developed realism was of the utmost importance in forming the manner of all Northern painters. It is this realism which affords conclusive evidence of a purely original Northern taste, evidence likewise of the special mode in which the North, as distinguished from the South, was imbued with pure Christian feeling in its highest expansion. In Italy—the most art-loving of all Latin nations—the people stood in quite another relation to art and Christianity than that which we note amongst the Northerns. Ecclesiastical painting was per-



fectured in the South under different conditions from those which hold for the Netherlands. The great migrations of the early centuries did not expel the old populations from the peninsula, it only tempered to a slight extent the blood of the ancient race; and so the Germanic feeling in respect of Christianity and art was modified by that of the aboriginal race on Italian soil. There, too, the numerous monuments of the classic times exercised an important influence on the cultivation of art; and under these favourable conditions the noblest creations of Christian painting were produced. Yet, when compared with the purest Greek masterpieces, the best creations of the Italian revival were not as original as those of the old Flemings; they were in truth but a happy cross between the antique and Christian Germanic feeling.<sup>1</sup> In this, that early Netherlandish art, in its freedom from all foreign influence, exhibits to us the contrast between the natural feeling of the Greek and of the Germanic races in the department of art—these two races being the chief representatives of the cultivation of the ancient and the modern world—and exhibits this contrast in a purity and distinctness not traceable in any other form; in this circumstance consists the high significance of this school when considered in reference to the general history of art. While it is characteristic of the Greeks to idealize not only the conceptions of the ideal world, but even that of portraits, by the simplification of forms, and the prominence given to the more important parts of a work of art, the early Netherlanders conferred a portrait-like character upon the most ideal personifications of the Virgin, the Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs, and in actual portraiture aimed to render even the most accidental peculiarities of nature. While the Greeks expressed the various features of outward nature—such as rivers, fountains, hills, and trees—under abstract human forms, the Netherlanders

<sup>1</sup> [It is hardly necessary to observe that this comparison between Flemish and Italian art is peculiar to Dr. Waagen, and would probably meet with but slight countenance from any but a small circle of enthusiasts. I confess my inability to discover or to understand what feeling in respect of art was carried by the Germanic races to Italy. But I know that German art began to dawn after Charlemagne had been at Rome.]



endeavoured to express them as they saw them, and with a truth which extended to the smallest details. In opposition to the ideal, and what may be called the personifying tendency of the Greeks, the Netherlandish race developed a purely realistic and landscape school. In this respect the other Northern nations are found to approach them most nearly, the Germans first and then the English.

The schools of art characteristic of both the other Latin nations—the French and the Spanish—must be considered as subordinate when compared with those of Italy and the Netherlands; inasmuch as they were alternately and strongly influenced by each, occasionally both influences holding the balance with happy equality, but oftener the one prevailing over the other.

The high development of the realistic feeling, as it first appears in the pictures of the brothers Van Eyck, has been looked upon as a riddle. It may, however, be partly accounted for by the fact that the works of the generation preceding them were completely destroyed in the iconoclastic storm which raged in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. In order to account, as far as possible on historical grounds, for the marvellous perfection exhibited by the Van Eycks, I have been obliged to recur to the sculpture antecedent to them. Nor has my research been unsuccessful. From the inspection of a number of monumental reliefs in the possession of M. Dumortier at Tournay, I have convinced myself that the school of sculpture existing there during the middle ages very early pursued a realistic direction, and towards the middle of the fourteenth century had already made considerable progress.<sup>1</sup> The life-sized stone statues executed in 1396 for Philip the Bold of Burgundy, by CLAES SLUTER, and which decorated the fountain of the Chartreuse at Dijon, show even a development of the realistic tendency and a knowledge of nature which places them on a par with the pictures by the

<sup>1</sup> The monument to Colard de Seclin, Doctor of Rights, inscribed 1341, is particularly important, as showing that not only was a great individuality already given to portraits, but that the features of the infant Christ, who in some respects was evidently studied from nature, partook also completely of a portrait-like character.

Van Eycks.<sup>1</sup> They represent the figures of Moses (whence the fountain is called "Puits de Moyse"), David, Jeremiah, Zechariah, Daniel, and Isaiah. We gather from this that sculpture in the Netherlands, as well as in Italy, took the lead of painting; and as we are historically informed that the painters of Italy studied from Lorenzo Ghiberti's celebrated bronze doors of the Baptistery at Florence, so we may safely conclude that a similar course was pursued in the Netherlands.

[The masterpieces of sculpture produced at the close of the fourteenth and opening of the fifteenth centuries were coloured. We trace the practice with certainty in France, in Belgium, and on the Rhine; and more particularly, *ex. gr.*, in altarchests by Jacques de Baerse at Dijon, and statues of Pagan and Christian heroes in the Town Hall of Cologne. It is probable that painters were indebted to sculpture, not only for the reproduction of form, but for the custom of flat tinting. Unhappily, when we say that the Van Eycks were indebted to the sculptors of their age for some of the progress which their works display, we are still far from having solved the mystery which clings to the earlier period of their lives. We know that these great artists were natives of Maaseyck, and countrymen of some of the miniaturists who were employed at the court of France between 1400 and 1410. There are miniatures in a Prayer-book of the Duke of Berri (1409), and in a Josephus (1410), by Pol of Limburg, which remind us of later productions of the Van Eycks in the originality of conception, the peculiar embodiments of form, and the remarkable tendency to realism which they display;<sup>2</sup> but this only proves that Limburg was a province in which the elements of art might be acquired; and this is all that history as yet has been able to discover with reference to the two men who brought art to the highest perfection of which it was found capable in the Netherlands.

Hubert van Eyck was born, according to the common acceptation, in 1366. John van Eyck was his junior by

<sup>1</sup> See article by me in the German 'Kunstblatt' of 1856, No. 27. This also contains an account of sculpture by the same Claes Sluter on the monument to Philip the Bold, now in the Museum at Dijon.

<sup>2</sup> [The Prayer-book is in the Bibliothèque Ste. Gèneviève, the Josephus (MSS. 6891) in the public library in Paris.]

some unknown number of years. Chroniclers of the sixteenth century vaguely suggest that the two brothers settled at Ghent in 1410. There is every reason to believe that all these dates are incorrect; that Hubert was born after 1366, and that the date of his migration to Ghent must be placed later in the century. It is credible that both the brothers were court painters to Philip of Charolois, heir apparent to the throne of Burgundy, who lived with his wife Michelle de France at Ghent between 1418 and 1421. In the service of the prince, painters were free from the constraint of their guild, but on the withdrawal of the court the privilege would cease; and this explains how the names of the Van Eycks were not recorded in the register of the corporation of St. Luke till 1421, when, on the death of the countess Michelle, and as a tribute to her memory, they were registered as masters without a fee. John van Eyck soon found employment in the court atmosphere, which seemed congenial to him, whilst Hubert remained at Ghent, received commissions from the municipality (1424), and became acquainted with Jodocus Vydt, for whom he composed the vast altarpiece known as the 'Adoration of the Lamb.'<sup>1</sup> It was not fated that he should finish the great work which he was then induced to begin. He probably sketched the subjects that were to adorn the panels, and completed some of the more important of them. At his death in 1426 he was buried in the chapel, the decoration of which had been the last occupation of his life. We may sum up the qualities which distinguished him, and the services which he rendered to the art of his country, in the following sentences:—]

He carried the realistic tendency, already existing in the Flemish masters, to an extraordinary pitch of excellence, whilst in many essential respects he adhered to the more ideal feeling of the previous period, imparting to this, by the means of his far richer powers of representation, greater distinctness, truth of nature, and variety of expression. Throughout his works he displayed an elevated and highly energetic conception of the stern import of his labours in the

<sup>1</sup> [Ruelens, in notes et additions to the French Translation of 'Early Flemish painters,' vol. ii. p. xlv.]

service of the Church. The prevailing arrangement of his subject is symmetrical, holding fast the early architectonic rules which had hitherto presided over ecclesiastic art. The later mode of arrangement, in which a freer and more dramatic and picturesque feeling was introduced, is only seen in Hubert van Eyck's works in subjection to these rules. Thus his heads exhibit the aim at beauty and dignity belonging to the earlier period, only combined with more truth of nature. His draperies unite its pure taste and softness of folds with greater breadth; the realistic principle being apparent in that greater attention to detail which a delicate indication of the material of the drapery necessitates. Nude figures are studied from nature with the utmost fidelity: undraped portions are also given with much truth, especially the hands; only the feet remain feeble. That, however, which is almost the principal quality of his art, is the hitherto unprecedented power, depth, transparency, and harmony of his *colouring*. To attain this he availed himself of a mode of painting in oil which he and his brother had perfected. Oil painting, it is true, had long been in use, but only in a very undeveloped form, and for inferior purposes. According to the most recent and thorough investigations,<sup>1</sup> the improvements introduced by the Van Eycks, and which they doubtless only very gradually worked out, were the following. First, they removed the chief impediment which had hitherto obstructed the application of oil-paint to pictures properly so called. For, in order to accelerate the slow drying of the oil colours, it had been necessary to add a varnish to them, which consisted of oil boiled with a resin. Owing to the dark colour of this varnish, in which amber, or more frequently sandarac, was used, this plan, from its darkening effect on most colours, had hitherto proved unsuccessful. The Van Eycks, however, succeeded in preparing so colourless a varnish that they could apply it, without disadvantage, to all colours. In painting a picture they proceeded on the following system. The outline was drawn on a *gesso* ground, so strongly sized that no oil could

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Charles Eastlake's 'Materials for a History of Oil-painting.' London, 1847. Longman. Chap. VIII.-XI.

penetrate the surface. The under painting was then executed in a generally warm brownish glazing colour, and so thinly that the light ground was clearly seen through it. They then laid on the local colours, thinner in the lights, and, from the quantity of vehicle used, more thickly in the shadows; in the latter availing themselves often of the under painting as a foil. In all other parts they so nicely preserved the balance between the solid and the glazing colours as to attain that union of body and transparency which is their great excellence. Finally, in the use of the brush they obtained that perfect freedom which the new vehicle permitted; either leaving the touch of the brush distinct, or fusing the touches tenderly together, as the object before them required. Of all the works which are now attributed to Hubert, [but one is genuine and historically authenticated.] This noble work is certified by an inscription. It is a large altar picture, consisting of two rows of separate panels, once in the Cathedral of St. Bavon at Ghent. It was painted, as before remarked, for Jodocus Vyds, Seigneur of Pamele, and Burgomaster of Ghent, and his wife Elizabeth, of the then distinguished family of Burluut, for their mortuary chapel in that cathedral.<sup>1</sup> When the wings were opened, which occurred only on festivals, the subject of the upper centre picture was seen, consisting of three panels (see woodcut), on which were the Triune God—the King of heaven and earth—and at his side the Holy Virgin and the Baptist: on the inside of the wings were angels, who with songs and sacred music celebrate the praises of the Most High: at the two extremities, each inside the half-shutters which covered the figure of God the Father, were Adam and Eve, the representatives of fallen man. The lower central picture shows the Lamb of the Revelation, whose blood flows into a cup; over it is the dove of the Holy Spirit; angels, who hold the instruments of the Passion, worship the Lamb, and four groups, each consisting of many persons, advance from the sides; they comprise the holy martyrs, male and female, with priests and laymen; in the foreground is the fountain of life; in the distance the towers of the

<sup>1</sup> Carton, 'Les Trois Frères van Eyck,' p. 56.



heavenly Jerusalem. On the wing pictures, other groups are coming up to adore the Lamb; on the left, those who have laboured for the kingdom of the Lord by worldly deeds—the soldiers of Christ, and the righteous judges; on the right, those who, through self-denial and renunciation of earthly good, have served Him in the spirit—holy hermits and pilgrims; a picture underneath, which represented hell, finished the whole.

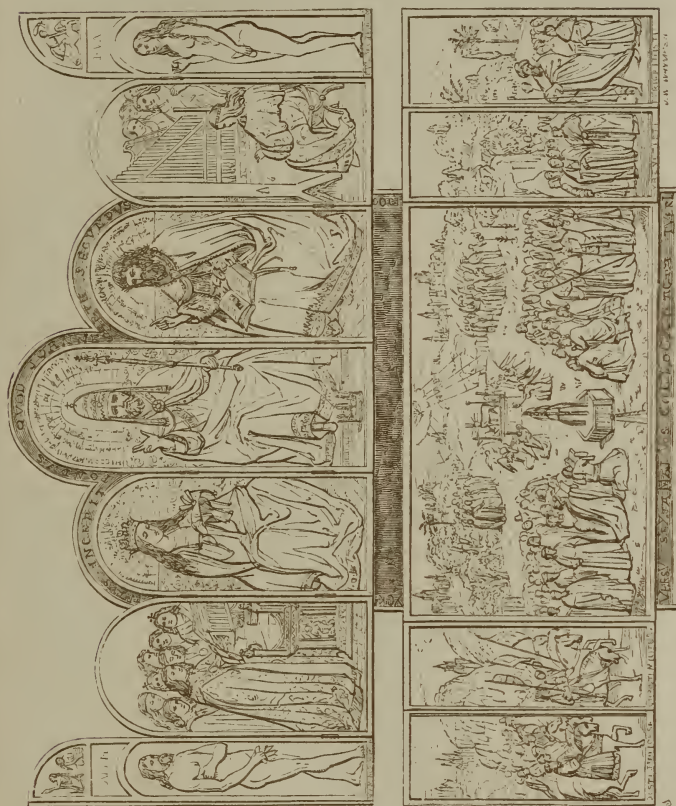
This work is now dispersed: the centre pictures and the panels of Adam and Eve only being in Ghent.<sup>1</sup> The lower picture of hell was early injured and lost, and the others form some of the greatest ornaments of the gallery of the Berlin Museum.<sup>2</sup>

The three figures of the upper centre picture are designed with all the dignity of statue-like repose belonging to the early style; they are painted, too, on a ground of gold and tapestry, as was constantly the practice in earlier times: but united with the traditional type we already find a successful representation of life and nature in all their truth. They stand on the frontier of two different styles, and, from the excellences of both, form a wonderful and most impressive whole. In all the solemnity of antique dignity the Heavenly Father sits directly fronting the spectator—his right hand raised to give the benediction to the Lamb, and to all the

<sup>1</sup> [Marc van Vaernewijck in a MS. of 1566-8, describing the Ghent troubles, states that on the 19th of August, two days before the iconoclasts plundered St. Bavon, the picture of the Mystic Lamb was removed from the Vijdts chapel and concealed in one of the towers. See the MS., 'Van die Beroerlicke Tij'den in die Nederlanden,' recently printed at Ghent (1872), p. 146. On the same page in which Vaernewijck relates this story he says that he refers his readers, for the lives of the Van Eycks, to his book, 'Mijn leecken Philosophie int xx<sup>e</sup>. bouck.' This book, which probably still exists on the shelves of some library, has not as yet been discovered.]

<sup>2</sup> "The pictures here exhibited as the works of Hemmelinck, Messis, Lucas of Holland, A. Dürer, and even Holbein, are inferior to those ascribed to Eyck in colour, execution, and taste. The draperies of the three on a gold ground, especially that of the middle figure, could not be improved in simplicity, or elegance, by the taste of Raphael himself. The three heads of God the Father, the Virgin, and St. John the Baptist, are not inferior in roundness, force, or sweetness, to the heads of L. da Vinci, and possess a more positive principle of colour."—*Life of Fuseli*, i. p. 267. This is a very remarkable opinion for the period when it was written.





THE ALTARPIECE OF THE ADORATION OF THE LAMB.

Painted by John and Hubert Van Eyck for the Church of St. John (now St. Bavon) at Ghent in 1432.



figures below ; in his left is a crystal sceptre ; on his head the triple crown, the emblem of the Trinity. The features are such as are ascribed to Christ by the traditions of the Church, but noble and well-proportioned ; the expression is forcible, though passionless. The tunic of this figure, ungirt, is of a deep red, as well as the mantle, which last is fastened over the breast by a rich clasp, and, falling down equally from both shoulders, is thrown in beautiful folds over the feet. Behind the figure, and as high as the head, is a hanging of green tapestry adorned with a golden pelican (a well-known symbol of the Redeemer) ; behind the head the ground is gold, and on it, in a semicircle, are three inscriptions, which again describe the Trinity, as all-mighty, all-good, and all-bountiful. The two other figures of this picture display equal majesty ; both are reading holy books, and are turned towards the centre figure. The countenance of John expresses ascetic seriousness, but in the Virgin's we find a serene grace, and a purity of form, which approach very nearly to the happier efforts of Italian art.

On the wing next to the Virgin (see woodcut) stand eight angels singing before a music-desk. They are represented as choristers in splendid vestments and crowns. The brilliancy of the stuffs and precious stones is given with the hand of a master, the music-desk is richly ornamented with Gothic carved work and figures, and the countenances are full of expression and life ; but in the effort to imitate nature with the utmost truth, so as even to enable us to distinguish with certainty the different voices of the double quartett, the spirit of a holier influence has already passed away. On the opposite wing, St. Cecilia sits at an organ, the keys of which she touches with an expression of deep meditation : other angels stand behind the organ with different stringed instruments. The expression of these heads shows far more feeling, and is more gentle : the execution of the stuffs and accessories is equally masterly. The two extreme wings of the upper series, the subjects of which are Adam and Eve (see woodcut), are now [in the Museum at Brussels]. The attempt to paint the nude figure of the size of life, with the most careful attention to minute detail, is eminently successful, with the

exception of a certain degree of hardness in the drawing. Eve holds in her right hand the forbidden fruit. In the filling up, which the shape of the altarpiece made necessary over these panels, there are small subjects in chiaroscuro: over Adam, the sacrifice of Cain and Abel; over Eve, the death of Abel—death, therefore, as the immediate consequence of original sin.

The arrangement of the lower middle picture, the worship of the Lamb (see woodcut), is strictly symmetrical, as the mystic nature of the allegorical subject demanded, but there is such beauty in the landscape, in the pure atmosphere, in the bright green of the grass, in the masses of trees and flowers, even in the single figures which stand out from the four great groups, that we no longer perceive either hardness or severity in this symmetry. The wing picture on the right (see woodcut), representing the holy pilgrims, is, in the figures, less striking than the others. Here St. Christopher, who wandered through the world seeking the most mighty Lord, strides before all, a giant in stature, whilst a host of smaller pilgrims, of various ages, follow him. A fruitful valley, with many details, showing a surprising observation of nature, is seen through the slender trees. The cast of the folds in the ample red drapery of St. Christopher, as in the upper picture, reminds us still of the earlier style. The whimsical and singular expression in the countenances of the pilgrims is also very remarkable. The picture next to the last described is more pleasing; it represents the troop of holy anchorites passing out of a rocky defile. In front are St. Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony, the two who set the first example of retirement from the world; and the procession closes with the two holy women who also passed the greater part of their lives in the wilderness, Mary Magdalen and St. Mary of Egypt. The heads are full of character, with great variety of expression: on every countenance may be traced the history of its life. Grave old men stand before us, each one differing from the other: one is firm and strong, another more feeble; one cheerful and single-minded, another less open. Some inspired fanatics wildly raise their heads, whilst others with a simple and almost humorous expression walk by their side,



THE ADORATION OF THE LAMB. In the Church of St. Barou, Ghent.









THE HOLY WARRIORS.



In the Holy Land.



THE HOLY PILGRIMS.



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and others again are still struggling with their earthly nature. It is a remarkable picture, and leads us deep into the secrets of the human heart—a picture which in all times must be ranked amongst the master-works of art, and which to be intelligible needs no previous inquiry into the relative period and circumstances of the artists who created it. The landscape background, the rocky defile, the wooded declivity, and the trees laden with fruit, are all eminently beautiful. The eye would almost lose itself in this rich scene of still life if it were not constantly led back to the interest of the foreground.

The opposite wing pictures differ essentially in conception from those just described (see woodcut). Their subject did not in itself admit such varied interest, and it is rather the common expression of a tranquil harmony of mind, and of the consciousness of a resolute will, which attracts the spectator, combined at the same time with a skilful representation of earthly splendour and magnificence. Inside the wing to the right we see the soldiers of the Lord on fine chargers, simple and noble figures in bright armour, with surcoats of varied form and colour. The three foremost with the waving banners appear to be St. Sebastian, St. George, and St. Michael, the patron saints of the old Flemish guilds, which accompanied their earls to the crusades. In the head of St. George, the painter has strikingly succeeded in rendering the spirit of the chivalry of the middle ages—that true heroic feeling and sense of power which humbles itself before the higher sense of the Divinity. Emperors and kings follow after him. The landscape is extremely beautiful and highly finished, with rich and finely-formed mountain ridges, and the fleecy clouds of spring floating lightly across. The second picture (the last to the left) represents the righteous judges; they also are on horseback, and are fine and dignified figures. In front, on a splendidly caparisoned grey horse, rides a mild benevolent old man, in blue velvet trimmed with fur. This is the likeness of Hubert, to whom his brother has thus dedicated a beautiful memorial. Rather deeper in the group is John himself, clothed in black, with his shrewd, sharp countenance turned to the spectator. We are indebted to tradition for the knowledge of these portraits.

Both these wing pictures have the special interest of showing us, by means of armour, rich costumes, and caparisons, a true and particular representation of the Court of Burgundy in the time of Philip the Good—when it was confessedly the most superb court in Europe.

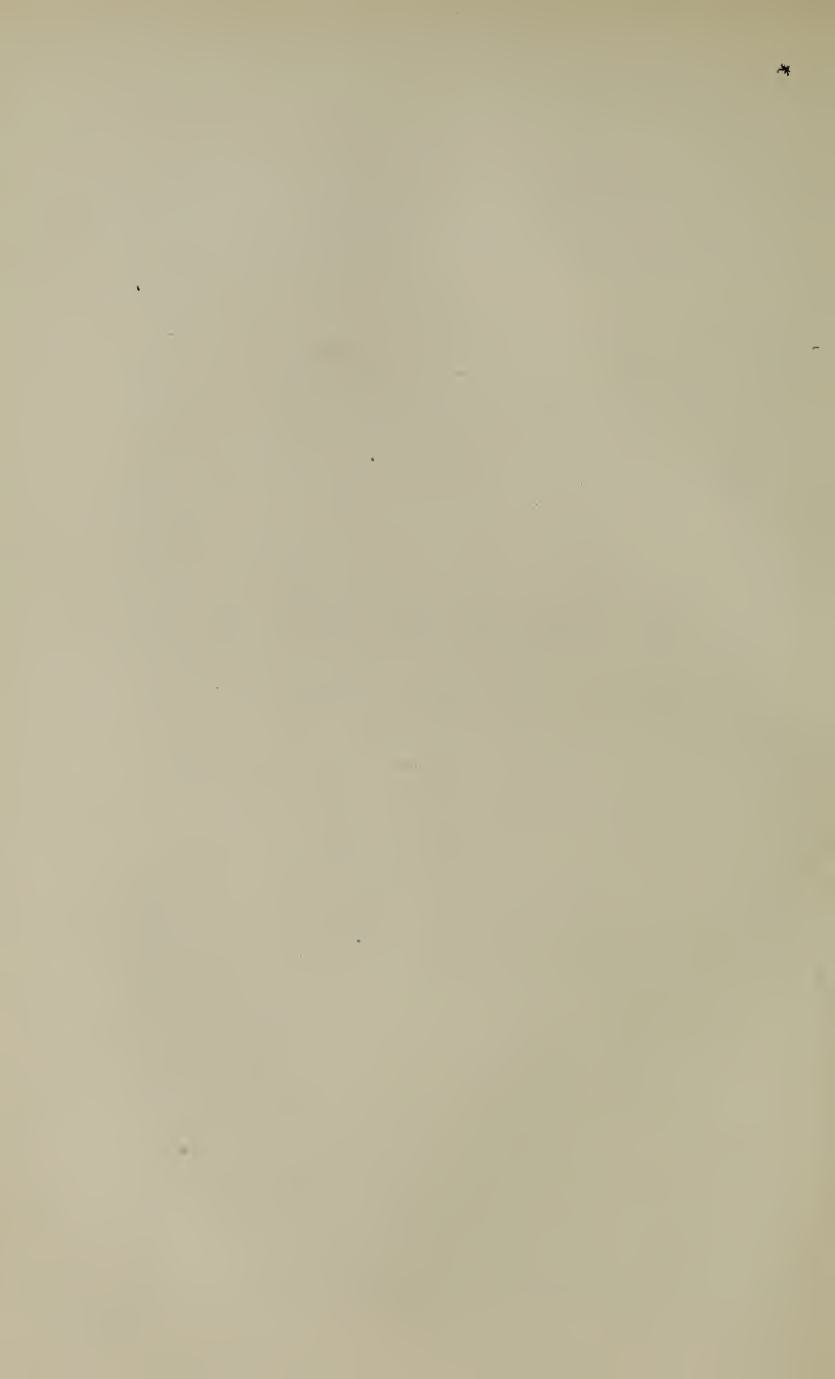
The upper wings, when closed (see woodcut), represented the Annunciation, and this was so arranged that on the outer and wider ones (the backs of the two pictures of angels singing and playing) were the figures of the Virgin and the angel Gabriel—on the inner narrower ones (that is, on the back of the Adam and Eve) a continuation of the Virgin's chamber. Here, as was often the case in the outside pictures of large altarpieces, the colouring was kept down to a more uniform tone, in order that the full splendour might be reserved to adorn with greater effect the principal subject within. The angel and the Holy Virgin are clothed in flowing white drapery, but the wings of the angel glitter with a play of soft and brilliant colour, imitating those of the green parrot. The heads are noble and well painted: the furniture of the room is executed with great truth, as well as the view through the arcade which forms the background of the Virgin's chamber, into the streets of a town, one of which we recognise as a street in Ghent.

In the semicircles which close these panels above, on the right and left, are the prophets Micah and Zechariah, whose heads have great dignity, but are somewhat stiff and unsatisfactory in their attitudes. In the centre (corresponding with the figures in chiaroscuro over Adam and Eve) are two kneeling female figures represented as sibyls.

The exterior portion of the lower wings contains the statues of the two St. Johns. These display a heavy style of drapery, and there is something peculiarly angular in the breaks of the folds, imitated perhaps from the sculpture of the day, which had also already abandoned the older Northern mould. This peculiarity by degrees impressed itself more and more on the style of painting of the fifteenth century, and the drapery of the figures in the Annunciation already betrays a tendency towards it. The heads exhibit a feeling for beauty of form which is rare in this school. John the



Outer Shutters of the great Van Eyck picture at Berlin.





Baptist, who is pointing with his right hand to the Lamb on his left, is appropriately represented, as the last of the Prophets, as a man of earnest mien and dignified features, with much hair and beard. John the Evangelist, on the other hand, appears as a tender youth with delicate features, looking very composedly at the monster with four snakes which, at his benediction, rises from the chalice in his hand.

The likenesses of the donors are given with inimitable life and fidelity. They show the careful hand of Jan van Eyck, but already approach that limit within which the imitation of the accidental and insignificant in the human countenance should be confined. The whole, however, is in admirable keeping, and the care of the artist can hardly be considered too anxiously minute, since feeling and character are as fully expressed as the mere bodily form. The aged Jodocus Vyds, to whose liberality posterity is indebted for this great work of art, is dressed in a simple red garment trimmed with fur; he kneels with his hands folded, and his eyes directed upwards. His countenance, however, is not attractive; the forehead is low and narrow, and the eye without power. The mouth alone shows a certain benevolence, and the whole expression of the features denotes a character capable of managing worldly affairs. The idea of originating so great a work as this picture is to be found in the noble, intellectual, and expressive features of his wife, who kneels opposite to him in the same attitude, and in still plainer attire.

At Hubert van Eyck's death, on the 16th of September, 1426, Jodocus Vyds engaged Jan van Eyck, the younger brother and scholar of Hubert, to finish the picture in the incomplete parts.<sup>1</sup> A close comparison of all the panels of

<sup>1</sup> This appears from the following inscription of the time, on the frame of the outer wing :—

“Hubertus e Eyck, major quo nemo repertus  
Incepit; pondusque Johannes arte secundus  
Frater perfecit, Judoci Vyd prece fretus  
[VersV seXta MaI Vos CoLLoCat aCta tVerI.]”

[The last verse gives the date of May 6, 1432.] The discovery of this inscription, under a coating of green paint, was made in Berlin in 1824, when the first word and a half of the third line, which were missing, were [imperfectly] supplied [with “frater perfectus”] by an old copy of this inscription, found by M. de Bast, the Belgian connoisseur.

this altarpiece with the authentic works of Jan van Eyck shows that the following portions differ in drawing, colouring, cast of drapery, and treatment, from his style, and may therefore with certainty be attributed to the hand of Hubert:—Of the inner side of the upper series, the Almighty, the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, St. Cecilia with the angels playing on musical instruments, and Adam and Eve; of the inner side of the lower series, the side of the centre picture with the apostles and saints, and the wings with the hermits and pilgrims, though with the exception of the landscapes. On the other hand, of the inner side of the upper series, the wing picture with the singing angels is by Jan van Eyck; of the inner side of the lower series, the side of the centre picture of the Adoration of the Lamb, containing the patriarchs and prophets, etc., and the entire landscape; the wing with the soldiers of Christ and the Righteous Judges, and the landscapes to the wing with the hermits and pilgrims; finally, the entire outer sides of the wings, comprising the portraits of the founders, and the Annunciation. The Prophet Zechariah and the two Sibyls alone show a feebler hand.<sup>1</sup>

About one hundred years after the completion of this altarpiece an excellent copy of it was made by Michael Coxis for Philip II. of Spain. The panels of this work, like those of the original, are dispersed; some are in the Berlin Museum, some in the possession of the King of Bavaria, and others in the remains of the King of Holland's collection at the Hague. A second copy, which comprises the inside pictures of this great work, from the chapel of the Town-house at Ghent, is in the [Antwerp Museum.]

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Waagen did not always hold decided opinions as to what portions of the altarpiece of Ghent are by Hubert and John van Eyck, respectively. There is no doubt that some of "the sublime earnestness" which Schlegel notes in the Eternal, the Virgin, and John the Baptist, and much of the stern realism which characterizes those figures, is to be found in the patriarchs and prophets, and in the hermits and pilgrims, and in the Adam and Eve; but it is too much to say that these wing pictures can "with certainty be assigned to Hubert," and it is not to be forgotten that John van Eyck worked in this picture on the lines laid down by his elder brother, and must have caught some of the spirit of his great master.]

[Hubert van Eyck's name has been extensively misused by compilers of catalogues; but criticism has had the melancholy result of proving that not one of the numerous compositions assigned to the master are the work of his hand; and this is true even of the noble St. Jerome taking the thorn from the lion's paw, in the Museum of Naples. It was the habit of the dealers of the fifteenth century to send Flemish works of art to South Italy, and numerous panels in Neapolitan churches prove the importance of the trade without throwing light on the history of painting in the Netherlands. Though Hubert van Eyck has been restored to the place which he deserved to hold in the annals of his country, his merits and services met with but a tardy recognition. He was soon forgotten in Ghent, and Burgundian literature treated him and the followers of his art with such contempt that we never find an allusion to them in Flemish print till after the middle of the sixteenth century. It was fortunate that, whilst the countrymen of the Van Eycks gave evidence of so much indifference, Italian writers should have been more just and more conscientious. But even in Italy the revival of criticism came too late to rescue Hubert van Eyck from oblivion; and when attention was directed, in the fifteenth century, to the art of the Netherlands by Leon Battista Alberti, by Cyriacus of Ancona, by Facius, and Filarete, it only connected Belgian painting with the names of John van Eyck and Roger van der Weyden. When Vasari published the first edition of his lives in 1550, he was unaware of Hubert's existence. He began to print the second edition without being better informed; but in the interval which elapsed between the appearance of his first and last volumes, Guicciardini had written his description of the Low Countries. His knowledge of Hubert, as John van Eyck's brother and fellow-painter, was communicated to Vasari, who (1568) made but a partial and unsatisfactory correction of previous statements in a final chapter on Flemish craftsmen. Guicciardini's history very soon attracted attention in Belgium; and the facts which it contained were copied, though with small discrimination, by numerous annalists. Hubert van Eyck recovered

a place in the history of art ; but he was not raised to the first rank, which he ought to have held, and which modern history now properly assigns to him.

Of John van Eyck it may be said likewise that he suffered from the neglect of his contemporaries, for though he never sank into complete obscurity, as his brother had done, his claims to public attention were superficially urged ; and recent research only has lifted the veil which concealed the greatest part of his active and important life. I shall endeavour to sketch in a few sentences the more salient points in his picturesque career.

Shortly after the death of Michelle de France at Ghent, John van Eyck entered the service of John of Bavaria, whose recent conquest of Holland had given him a powerful position amongst the princes of the Netherlands. From September 23rd, 1422, to January 13th, 1423 there are distinct traces of the painter's residence at the Hague, where John of Bavaria held his court.<sup>1</sup> What pictures he may have painted there, and of what kind his occupations may have been, we are unable to ascertain, nor is it without a melancholy significance that neither at the Hague nor in any other part of the Netherlands is a single production to be met with which helps us to measure the painter's acquirements before the death of Hubert. It will be seen indeed that there is one altarpiece in the regal collection of the Dukes of Devonshire at Chatsworth which might claim to have been executed in 1421, but the state to which this panel has been reduced by the baleful effects of time and restoring is such as to render it valueless to the critic. After the death of John of Bavaria, in 1425, John van Eyck took service with Philip the Good of Burgundy, for whom he painted numerous portraits, which unfortunately have not been preserved. In his official capacity he bore the title of "my lord's painter and varlet ;" his salary was 100 livres per annum ; and he enjoyed perquisites for rent at Lille or at Bruges, or when despatched

<sup>1</sup> [See the notices of Mr. A. Pinchart in 'Early Flemish Painters,' 2nd ed., p. 40. The story of John van Eyck's visit to Antwerp in 1420 rests upon a false reading of some records respecting the Antwerp Guild, which tell of Albert Dürer's visit to Antwerp in 1520.]

on special missions to take the portraits of ladies to whose hand the frequently widowed Duke might aspire. We have note of some of these "secret pilgrimages" in 1426, 1428, 1430, 1433, and 1436; but one of them deserves to be more particularly recorded. Two Venetian galleys left the port of Sluys on the 19th of October, 1428, bearing the lord of Roubaix with his suite, for the purpose of visiting Lisbon and negotiating a marriage between Isabel of Portugal and Philip the Good. The embassy, with John van Eyck in its company, reached Lisbon on the 18th of December, and spent several months at Arrayollos, Aviz, Santiago di Compostella, Jaen, and Granada. Van Eyck painted the likeness of Isabel of Portugal, and visited Mahomet, King of the Moors. He spent upwards of nine months in the Peninsula, and came home with Philip's bride on Christmas day, 1429. In 1430 he bought a house at Bruges, where he lived till his death in 1440-41. During a long period of service under Philip he was treated with all the distinction which it was possible for the Duke to confer upon him; and it is a proof of the favour in which he was held, that Philip was godfather to his daughter Lyennie, who in 1449 withdrew to a convent in her father's native place at Maaseyck.<sup>1</sup>]

Fortunately the world possesses various authentic pictures by Jan van Eyck, in which his original powers are more easily recognized than in the part he executed of the great altarpiece, where he doubtless accommodated himself with true fraternal piety both to the composition and general style of his master and brother. His own works also show a very different originality from that which characterised Hubert. He possessed neither that enthusiasm for the rich significance of the ecclesiastical art of the middle ages, nor that feeling for beauty in human forms or in drapery, which belonged to the elder brother. His feeling, on the other hand, led him to the closest and truest conception of individual nature. In the head of the Saviour he adhered to the early Byzantine type, but all his Virgins and saints have a thoroughly portrait-like character, and are even occasionally ugly in form, and without any particular elevation of feeling. His realistic

<sup>1</sup> ['Early Flemish Painters,' 2nd ed., 131.]



treatment also was carried out with admirable mastery in the stuffs of which his draperies were formed, in the backgrounds, and in every possible detail. Only in the overloading of his drapery with sharp and angular folds in ideal figures has he obviously imitated the sculptors who preceded him. His hands also, on these occasions, are often too narrow. Where, however, he had only to paint portraits—a task which quite coincided with the tendency of his mind—he attained a lifelikeness of conception and a truth of form and colouring in every part, extending even to the minutest details, such as no other artist of his time could rival, and which art in general has seldom produced. As regards his participation in the merit of the improved mode of oil-painting, I entirely agree with Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, that he probably found his far older brother already in possession of the advantages he had developed, though Jan van Eyck may, by his own practice of the art, have brought them to greater perfection.<sup>1</sup> In the management of the brush he possessed obviously a greater facility than Hubert, by which also he was enabled to render the material of every substance with marvellous fidelity. Here, as in his flesh-tones, the colours are seen alternately blended with tenderness, or, as in freely growing hair, lightly thrown on to the panel. In the aim at roundness of modelling, the highest lights of the flesh-tones approximate to white, and in the shadows, to a powerful and sometimes rather heavy brown, broken with yellow. The brown in Hubert's shadows, on the contrary, has a reddish tendency. The distinctness of his sight, and the wonderful precision of his hand, inclined Jan van Eyck to a moderate and occasionally very small scale of size. The pleasure he took in the imitation of every form of nature led him in some instances to desert the class of ecclesiastical subjects, as for example in the Otter-hunt,<sup>2</sup> and in the Bath-room,<sup>3</sup> both of these being early cited as admirable pictures, though they have now disappeared. Finally, he so loved to represent landscapes with distant views, that he not only introduced

<sup>1</sup> 'Early Flemish Painters,' 1st ed., pp. 44 and 46, 2nd ed., pp. 48, 49.

<sup>2</sup> 'Anonimo,' by Morelli, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See Facius.



them in the background of his historical pictures, but an example is known in which a similar landscape constituted the whole of his subject.<sup>1</sup> Besides the pictures by him now in England, I will only quote those which are easy of access. In these I endeavour to observe a chronological order. Others of less importance I omit altogether.

[The earliest picture connected with the name of Jan van Eyck is the Consecration of Thomas à Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. Its originality appears to be certified by the painter's signature, and the date of 1421 ; but the panel is so injured, and the treatment is so much below the usual level of the master, that we should hesitate to accept it as evidence of his powers, even in the period noted in the inscription.]<sup>2</sup>

St. Francis kneeling before a mass of rock and receiving the stigmata ; the lay brother before him with his hand covering his face. This small picture, which is at Lord Heytesbury's seat, Heytesbury, in Wiltshire, is remarkable for its solid and delicate execution, and for the depth and fulness of its warm tone. The fact that Lord Heytesbury purchased it from a medical man in Lisbon renders it probable that this work was executed by the master during his stay in Portugal in 1428-29.<sup>3</sup>

Next in chronological succession follow those wings of the

<sup>1</sup> The representation of the world, which, according to Facius, he executed for Philip the Good, was essentially nothing more than the representation of a landscape, which was especially renowned for the indication of towns and villages, and for the illusion produced by perspective.

<sup>2</sup> [Jan van Eyck sometimes signed his pictures when they were only sketched in ; and of this there is an example in a St. Barbara of the Antwerp Museum. The Chatsworth altarpiece may have been signed under similar conditions, and it may then have been finished by a later school hand. Dr. Waagen believed it to be original, and what is still more strange, well preserved. See his 'Treasures,' vol. iii., p. 349.]

<sup>3</sup> [In a will dated Feb. 10, 1470, (n. s.), Anselme Adorne, Knight and Lord of Corthuy, near Bruges, bequeathes to each of his two daughters "a little picture by John van Eyck, representing St. Francis." The panel of Lord Heytesbury's collection may be one of these, in which case Dr. Waagen's suggestion that it was painted in Portugal would be incorrect. See A. Pinchart, 'Archives des Arts,' etc., 8vo. Gand, 1860, p. 264.]

altarpiece at Ghent, now in the Berlin Museum, which were the work of Jan van Eyck. I am the more inclined also to attribute to him the landscapes in the wings of the Hermits and Pilgrims, otherwise painted by Hubert, and in which southern vegetation, such as the orange, the stone pine, the cypress, and the palm, are rendered with great fidelity, from the fact that Jan van Eyck alone, from his voyage to Portugal, had had the opportunity of seeing these objects in nature.

[Akin to this altarpiece of the Lamb, in subject and feeling, but altogether in the spirit of John van Eyck, is the 'Fount of Salvation,' in the Museum of Madrid.]

The figure of the Almighty is seen enthroned under a gorgeous Gothic canopy, holding a sceptre in the left hand, and in the act of benediction with the right. At the sides are the Virgin reading on the right, and St. John the Evangelist writing on the left. On the arms of the throne are the attributes of the four Evangelists; at the feet of the Almighty the Immaculate Lamb, whom he made an offering for the sins of the world. Below, this offering is seen in the form of a stream of water, in which the sacramental wafers are floating, flowing into a little flower-garden, where six angels are celebrating the glory of God on different instruments. Beyond these, on each side, are singing angels under Gothic canopies, also terminating in lesser pointed towers. A scroll in the hands of one of the angels, on the left, contains the inscription, which sets forth the meaning of the stream of water as follows: "Cân :—fons ortorum, puteus aquarum viventium" —referring to the text in the Song of Solomon, ch. iv. verse 15: "A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters." The water flows finally into a Gothic fountain, which rises in the centre of the foreground, and which, with the usual allegorical allusion, is decorated with a pelican feeding her young with her blood. On the right are the ranks of the Blessed, victorious through Christ, headed by the Pope standing, bearing a tall crozier with the standard in his left hand, and with the right directing the attention of the Emperor, who is kneeling in adoration, to the fountain, as the source of all salvation. Behind both are other clerical and lay personages. On the



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# THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH.

In the National Museum, Madrid.

page 17.



left, in front, is the High Priest standing, his eyes bound, holding a broken standard in his right hand, with his left endeavouring to prevent a kneeling Jew from paying adoration. Besides these are eight more Jews, in lively actions of horror and despair. In the three principal upper figures, and in the angels, a deep religious expression is seen combined with a pure feeling for beauty; in the lower figures a keen portrait-like character prevails. The momentary and dramatic actions of some of the Jews are especially admirable. The colouring of this picture, which, independent of the upper projection, is five feet six inches high, is harmonious and clear, and the very careful execution masterly in the highest degree.<sup>1</sup>

The Virgin and Child seated under a penthouse. Inscribed "*Completum annq domini mccccxxxii per Johannem de Eyck, Brugis,*" with his motto, "*Als ich chan,*" in other words, "*as well as I can.*" The head of the Virgin in this little picture is of unusually noble character, the folds of the drapery very sharp and angular. This picture is at Ince Hall, near Liverpool.

The Virgin enthroned, giving the breast to the Child. Her features are pleasing, but of no spiritual character. The Child, who is clumsy in body, is less attractive. The sharp and admirably rendered folds of the Virgin's drapery hide the form too much. This picture, which, from its former possessor, the Duke of Lucca, was called the *Madonna di Lucca*, is now in the *Städel Institute* at Frankfort.

[The portrait of a man in the National Gallery, signed and dated October, 1432 (No. 290)—a sunny picture, without much shadow, and of a yellow tinge—is blended and finished to the utmost.

More powerful in contrasts of light and shade, and more perfectly rounded, is the] portrait of a man, in the same gallery, (No. 222), signed "*Johēs de Eyck me fecit año mcccc33, 21. Octobris,*" and his motto as above. This picture

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Waagen held, before seeing this picture, that it was by Hubert van Eyck. He did not think fit to reverse his judgment after a visit to Madrid in 1863. Yet the preponderance of critical opinion is altogether against him. See '*Early Flemish Painters,*' 2nd ed., p. 99.]



is of marvellous truth and vivacity, and equal precision and mastery of execution.

[Of larger size, and equally attractive—for finish quite a miracle—is the “Man with the Pinks,” a portrait of a beardless weather-beaten old man, in the Suermondt collection at Aix-la-Chapelle.] [Now in the Berlin Museum, No. 525 A.]

In the National Gallery, also, No. 186, are the portraits of Jean Arnolfini and his wife, Jeanne de Chenany. They are dressed in holiday attire, and are represented standing, hand in hand, in a small room, with numerous accessories. At their feet is a terrier dog. Signed “Johannes de Eyck fuit hic f. 1434.” No other picture shows so high a development of the master’s powers. Besides every other quality peculiar to him which we have already mentioned, and which it possesses in fullest measure, we observe here a perfection of general keeping and of chiaroscuro which no other specimen of this whole period affords. It is no wonder that the Princess Mary, sister of Charles V., and Governess of the Netherlands, should, as Van Mander relates, for this picture, have bestowed a post of 100 guldens a year upon a barber to whom it belonged.<sup>1</sup>

The Virgin with the Child on her arm, to whom St. Barbara is representing the donor, an ecclesiastic in white robes. The background, landscape and architecture. This remarkable work is, in point of fact, a delicate miniature in oil, and follows the preceding picture very closely in time. At Burleigh House, seat of the Marquis of Exeter.

Nearly related in every respect to the last mentioned is a picture in the Louvre, No. 162, representing the Virgin crowned by an angel, with the Child on her lap, and adored by the donor Rollin, chancellor of Philip the Good,<sup>2</sup> who kneels before her. The features of the Virgin are pretty, but of little spirituality of character, the Child of unusual elegance for the master, the angel very beautiful, and the

<sup>1</sup> [This story, derived from Van Mander, is not founded on fact, for the picture belonged to Margaret of Austria as early as 1516.]

<sup>2</sup> We gather this from a passage in Courtépée’s ‘*Descrip. Hist. et Topogr. du Duché de Bourgogne*,’ quoted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in ‘*Early Flemish Painters*,’ 2nd ed., p. 96. According to this the picture was formerly in the sacristy of Notre Dame at Autun.



portrait of the donor of astonishing energy and animation. The mantle of the Virgin is in numerous sharp breaks. The landscape background, which exhibits a town lying upon a river, and distant snow mountains, contains the richest and most incredible amount of detail that the master has bequeathed to us.

Next in succession we may take a picture, inscribed 1436, in the collection of the Academy at Bruges, which, in its different parts, is of very unequal merit. The Virgin, seated under a canopy, is of unusual ugliness, and the Child, who is playing with a parrot, has the features of a little old man. The head also of the St. George, standing on the left of the Madonna, has no spiritual expression whatever. On the other hand, St. Donatian, standing opposite to him, though of very portrait-like character, is incomparably more dignified. But the most admirable figure is that of the kneeling donor, the Canon, George de Pala, who is presented by St. Donatian. The decided character of his very individual features borders on hardness.<sup>1</sup> This work, with figures about two-thirds life-size, is the largest we know by the master.

The portrait of Jan de Leeuw, in the gallery of the Belvedere at Vienna, with the same date inscribed, has the same certainty of forms, and is unusually grey in the shadows.

Another portrait, of much analogy to the last, is also in the Belvedere Gallery. It is there called, though in my opinion erroneously, the portrait of Jodocus Vydt in advanced years.

The picture of St. Ursula, seated before a rich Gothic tower—her attribute—is in the Museum at Antwerp, dated 1437. It is especially interesting as showing how Jan van Eyck treated chiaroscuro. Although executed with the point of the brush, it has all the effect of a careful pen-drawing.

The head of Christ as Salvator Mundi (1438), in the Berlin Museum, shows us how closely he adhered in his principal forms to the early, bearded, eastern type, at the same time developing his warm and powerful colouring, and peculiar

<sup>1</sup> See engraving of this picture, in which, however, little attention has been paid to the heads, in Carton's 'Les Trois Frères van Eyck,' p. 72, where also the elaborate inscriptions on the frame are fully given.

mastery over detail, as for instance in the painting of the beard.

The portrait of his wife, who was, however, by no means attractive in feature, in the Academy at Bruges, painted in 1439, is a specimen of marvellous delicacy and decision of carrying out. It is also truer in colouring, though less warm, than his other portraits.<sup>1</sup>

To his more highly finished pictures belongs finally a small altarpiece in the Dresden Gallery. The centre represents the Virgin seated with the Child in a rich chapel of Romanesque architecture: the inner sides of the wings contain St. Catherine and St. George, who is presenting the donor; the outer sides the Annunciation in chiaroscuro.

Finally, I must mention the embroidered ecclesiastical robes, preserved in the Imperial Treasury at Vienna, the cartoons for which, I am convinced, proceeded from Jan van Eyck.<sup>2</sup> These robes were executed for Philip the Good, for the festival instituted by him in honour of the Order of the Golden Fleece. A figure of the Almighty, a Baptism of Christ, and some Saints, are imbued with Jan van Eyck's feeling.

The brothers Van Eyck had a sister, by name MARGARET VAN EYCK, who is said to have been a skilful painter, but to whom no work can with certainty be assigned. She died also before her brother Jan, and was buried, like Hubert, in the cathedral at Ghent.

It is only within the last few years that the discovery of a third brother, of the name of LAMBERT VAN EYCK, has been made. A notice in the church books of the cathedral of Bruges, dated 21st March, 1442, states that, on the petition of Lambert van Eyck, brother of the celebrated painter, Jan van Eyck, the chapter had granted permission, with consent of the bishop, to have the body of the same removed from the outer precincts of the cathedral, where it had lain, to a spot within

<sup>1</sup> On the upper border of this picture is the inscription, "Conjux meus Johannes me complevit 1439, 11 Juni." On the lower border, "Etas mea triginta tria annorum. ALS IXH XAN."

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Waagen modified his opinion as to these ornaments. In his 'Handbuch,' 8vo., Stuttgart, 1862, p. 136, he expresses the opinion that the cartoons must have been by Jan van Eyck and Roger van der Weyden.]

the edifice near the font.<sup>1</sup> This fact of a third brother would have been of little consequence, but for a passage in the archives of Lille, from which it appears that he was also a painter.<sup>2</sup> If this was really the case, an unfinished picture, mentioned in an almost contemporary account of Jan van Eyck, may probably be by him. According to that account, this picture was painted in 1445, for Nicolas of Maelbeke, abbot and dean of the monastery of St. Martin at Ypres; was placed above the grave of the donor in the church of the monastery, he having died in 1447; was taken by the last Bishop of Ypres into his palace at the invasion of the French, towards the close of the last century; and after being long in the hands of M. Bogaert, a bookseller at Bruges, came finally by purchase into the families of Van der Schriek [and Schollaert], at Louvain.<sup>3</sup> It consists of a centre and two wings. In the first, the Holy Virgin, as Queen of Heaven, splendidly crowned, with long flowing hair, and a wide, richly ornamented purple mantle, holds the infant Christ in her arms; before her kneels the donor of the picture, and the background consists of ancient church architecture, through which we look out on a rich and animated landscape. The wings contain four subjects from the Old Testament, in part only sketched, which must be taken to relate the mystery of the Nativity, in the spirit of the ancient Christian symbols. The subjects are—Moses and the Burning Bush, Gideon with the Angel and the Miraculous Fleece, the Closed Gate of Ezekiel, and Aaron with the Budding Rod. On the outside

<sup>1</sup> Respecting this and all other records of Lambert van Eyck, see the often cited Carton, 'Les Trois Frères van Eyck,' p. 54, etc.

<sup>2</sup> [The proof which Dr. Waagen adduces can scarcely be accepted as a convincing one. He says: "An account book of the expenses of Duke Philip the Good states, 'A Lambert de Heck, frère de Johannes de Heck, peintre de Monseigneur, pour avoir été, à plusieurs fois, devers mon dit seigneur, pour aucunes besognes que mon dit seigneur voulait faire faire.'" The quality of painter in this sentence does not apply to Lambert, but to John van Eyck.]

<sup>3</sup> Passavant declares this picture to be a copy, but Dr. de Merseman, a thorough investigator of art at Bruges, has proved that this is the same work which was formerly in the church at Ypres. See Carton's 'Les Trois Frères van Eyck,' p. 62, etc. The improbability of a copy having been made of this, in many parts, only just begun work, speaks for itself.

of the wings there is the Virgin, in chiaroscuro, with the Child, appearing to the Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl, who explains to him the meaning of the vision.

The principal portions, namely, the Virgin and the Donor, are too feeble in drawing and execution of the flesh parts for Jan van Eyck, nor could he really have taken part in the picture, since his death is known to have taken place in 1441. At the same time, there is such affinity in all accessories, in the hair and crown of the Virgin, and especially in the rich landscape, to Jan van Eyck's works, that there can be no doubt of its having proceeded from the atelier of a contemporary master. The old record too, which names Jan van Eyck as the originator of the work, is so far in favour of Lambert from the fact that it was deeply interested in attributing it to the more celebrated of the brothers.<sup>1</sup> Several of the smaller figures show so striking an accordance with the two Sibyls and the prophet Zechariah in the Ghent altarpiece, that I am also inclined to attribute these, the weaker portions of that great work, to the hand of Lambert. For the same reasons it is probable that he was the author of the repetition of the great picture in the Academy at Bruges, which in every way approaches so near the original, and is now Nos. 413—424 in the Museum at Antwerp.

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## CHAPTER II.

### SCHOOL OF THE BROTHERS VAN EYCK TILL NEAR THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE influence of the realistic tendency in art thus completely carried out, as well as of the new and admirable mode of applying oil-pigments, extended to every country in Europe where art was practised with any success. In the Netherlands themselves it was of course most felt; after them in

<sup>1</sup> See my article in the 'Kunstblatt' of 1849, Nos. 16 and 17.

Germany ; and then in France, England, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. We need only examine its progress in the two first-named countries.

Among the Netherlandish scholars and followers of the Van Eycks, of whom any record has been preserved, some appear to have been gifted with considerable powers, though none attained the excellence of their great precursors. Although a number of works representing this school still exist in the various countries of Europe, yet, compared with the actual abundance of them at one time, they constitute but a scanty remnant. And more scanty are the notices we possess regarding the lives and circumstances of these painters ; the documentary researches, however, of past years have elicited a few fresh facts and dates.<sup>1</sup>

[PETRUS CRISTUS, born at Baerle, near Deynze, in Belgium, is one of the few painters whom we trace directly to the studio of John van Eyck. In a picture of 1447, exhibited at Frankfort, he copied the figures of Adam and Eve on the altarpiece of the Lamb, and an oriental carpet introduced by Van Eyck into his panel of the Virgin of Lucca. Petrus Cristus purchased the freedom of Bruges in 1444 ; painted the likeness of Edward Grimston, now in the collection of the Earl of Verulam, in 1446 ; and was free of the guild of St. Luke in 1450. He was still living at Bruges in 1471. His church pictures are singularly without elevation, but his skill in portrait is shown to have been considerable. It is characteristic of his manner that the human figure is drawn in stunted proportions, with rounded heads of unselect shape. The colours are of a dusky gloss, yet defective in transparency. A Virgin and child 'with a fountain,' ascribed to John van Eyck, in the Berlin Coll., No. 525 B, is probably one of the earliest works of Cristus. The Virgin and Saints (1447), in the Städel at Frankfort, is a better picture, with which the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Epiphany, in the

<sup>1</sup> The most distinguished of these inquirers have been Count Léon de Laborde, at Paris ; M. Wauters, the keeper of the records at Brussels ; the Abbé Carton, at Bruges ; Edward van Even, keeper of the records at Louvain ; and many other Belgian gentlemen, whose names are mentioned in the Introduction to the Catalogue of the Antwerp Museum of 1857, p. ix., etc.



Madrid Museum, deserve to be classed. Cristus painted in duskier tones as he grew older; and this peculiarity may be observed in the St. Elisius of the Oppenheim collection at Cologne, painted (1449) for the Goldsmiths' Guildhall at Antwerp, and in the Last Judgment, of the Berlin Museum, executed (1452) for a convent at Burgos. In the last of these pictures Cristus displays quite a childish conception of Paradise, at the same time that he prepares us, in a representation of Hell, for the drolleries of Jerom Bosch. Interesting examples to study are the Last Judgment and the Crucifixion, in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg, a Virgin and Child, in the gallery of Turin, and a kneeling dignitary, with St. Anthony, in the Museum of Copenhagen. There are two masterly portraits, male and female, from his hand in the Uffizi at Florence, assigned, erroneously, to Van der Goes. A portrait in the Berlin Museum, of very soft and blended treatment, represents a lady in the peaked cap of the Flemings of the fifteenth century. It would be more instructive if it had not been robbed of the brown glazings noticeable in a fine likeness of Marco Barbarigo (No. 696), in the National Gallery, which is wrongly catalogued in that collection as by Gerard van der Meire.]<sup>1</sup>

[It would be easy to show, if it had not been shown before in innumerable instances, that great masters seldom produce able disciples. Neither Hubert nor Jan van Eyck were exceptions to this rule. The talents which they displayed at Ghent and at Bruges were not transmitted with any abundance to their pupils; and the school of the Netherlands might perhaps have perished, but that it was kept up by other masters of almost equal ability in various cities of Belgium. Whilst John van Eyck was giving a name to Bruges, by the number and beauty of the pictures which he produced there, another artist, less great, but not less original, was slowly rising into notice at Brussels. In the course of a long and fruitful practice this talented craftsman formed one great pupil, who transferred his easel to Bruges, and, purging a

<sup>1</sup> [See for the latest proofs in respect of Petrus Cristus, 'Le Beffroi,' fol. Bruges, 1863, i., 151, 236, and 237.]



dry and inflexible style of some of its defects, tempered anew the art of the disciples of the Van Eycks. The influence of Brussels and of Bruges commingled was subsequently felt at Louvain, and modelled there into a peculiar form, which gave its impress to Quentin Massys, the last truly national painter of the fifteenth century in the Netherlands. We may affirm that the school of the Meuse, at the head of which the Van Eycks remained, was the greatest that illustrated Flanders; but we shall find it necessary to admit that the school of the Schelde, presided over by Van der Weyden, was that which became chiefly instrumental in extending the limits of northern art, sending forth roots into every part of the Netherlands, and far away to the eastward in the various provinces of Southern Germany. It was Van der Weyden who educated Memling and Dierick Bouts. It was Memling who gave new life to the school of Bruges; Bouts who taught Quentin Massys; but neither Memling nor Bouts would have done such service had they not had the pictures, the precepts, and the pupils of the Van Eycks to guide and assist them in their training.

Tournai is the birthplace, Robert Campin was the master, of ROGER VAN DER WEYDEN;<sup>1</sup> but we know no more of the form of Tournaisian art than is apparent in the works of its latest representative. In 1432, Roger van der Weyden took the freedom of his guild; in 1436 we find him living at Brussels, with the title of "town painter."<sup>2</sup> It is an error to suppose that he learnt the rudiments of his profession from John van Eyck. His style of drawing, treatment, and feeling for colour, differ altogether from those of the Van Eycks, and presuppose a different education, nor is it quite certain that he mastered all the subtleties of oil painting, as taught by the artists of Maaseyck. In Tournai, rather than at

<sup>1</sup> [Roger van der Weyden was the son of Henri van der Weyden, of Tournai, and himself born at Tournai; but the date of his birth is unknown. See A. Pinchart in *Annotations to 'Les Anciens Peintres Flamands,'* pp. ccvi-vii.]

<sup>2</sup> [See the authority quoted above, and further, A. Pinchart's '*Archives des Arts,'* vol. ii. p. 156, where Roger van der Weyden's name, with the qualification of "Stad Scilder," is still noted in the register of the brotherhood of the Holy Cross at Brussels in 1462.]

Bruges, we trace the rise of that peculiar school which sprang from the study of tinted sculpture. Van der Weyden himself did not refuse commissions for colouring bas-reliefs. His most characteristic pictures are composed in the spirit and dyed after the fashion of bas-reliefs; the curved portals with fretted ornaments which enclose his compositions are copied with patient and minute fidelity from the edifices of the period. We deplore the accidents which deprived us of the works of the Van Eycks previous to 1432; but we note with equal concern the loss of all Van der Weyden's early pictures. Not a single one of his works is left at Brussels, where he spent the greater part of his life, though we know that four of his largest and most important canvases were executed for the town hall. The oldest of his church pictures is that which represents the Nativity, the wail of Mary over the body of Christ, and the Resurrection, in the gallery of Berlin; and this we can only trace to a Spanish monastery in 1445. But two replicas of an altarpiece, representing scenes from the life of the Baptist, are specimens of the same manner, preserved in the galleries of Berlin and Frankfort. At a later period Van der Weyden composed a Descent from the Cross for a church at Louvain, which was subsequently sent by Mary of Hungary to Spain. This altarpiece, of which there are numerous replicas, is now in the Madrid Museum. Another famous example is the Last Judgment, in the Hospital of Beaune, completed for the Burgundian Chancellor Rollin between 1443 and 1447.

In 1449, Van der Weyden paid a visit to Italy; and during a stay of some months at Ferrara, where he painted a Descent from the Cross for Lionel d'Este, he was treated with great distinction by a large body of artists, imbued, by connection with the northern school of Padua, with some of the distinctive peculiarities of transalpine art. It is curious to observe that the melancholy realism of a style which is only attractive because of its extreme earnestness should have been thought worthy of admiration, and even of imitation, by the Ferrarese; equally curious to note that Italian painting, whether observed at Ferrara, at Florence, or at Rome, made no impression on Van der Weyden's pictorial

method. It may be supposed that the old and experienced Fleming wandered at Florence into the churches adorned by Giotto, Orcagna, Masaccio, and Angelico; for his presence may be traced in the city of the Medici, where he painted a picture that still remains to us in the Städel at Frankfort. Yet we look in vain for a passing change in his feeling for colour or form. It seemed as if Flemish realism was proof against all influences of a more genial and grander style. At Rome, one should think, Van der Weyden might have admired the masterpieces of the early Christian time, or those of the Florentines, who had been summoned from time to time to cover with precious frescos the walls of the most celebrated churches; yet it was not so, and he preferred to the creations of Giotto or Angelico, the feebler but more realistic productions of Gentile da Fabriano.

On his return from Rome in 1450, Roger van der Weyden completed for Pierre Bladelin, treasurer of the Golden Fleece, an Adoration of the Infant Christ, which, after adorning for centuries the altar of a church at Middelburg, was transferred at last to the Berlin Museum. In 1455 he composed for Jean Robert, Abbot of St. Aubert of Cambrai, an altarpiece, which, on very good grounds, is considered identical with that of the Madrid Museum, representing the Crucifixion, the Expulsion, and the Last Judgment.

Roger van der Weyden died on the 16th of June, 1464, at Brussels, and was buried at Ste. Gudule. The most characteristic feature of his style is its expressive realism. He preferred and usually composed those subjects of gospel history which convey sentiments of grief and pity. He sternly rejected the notion that form should be select and attractive. Neither in the shape of the human frame, nor in the features of the head, nor in that of the feet and hands, did he strive for more than a copy of ordinary nature—but even in this copy he was not always successful, and we often observe deficient drawing of extremities. It is the simplicity with which he gives expression by large and melancholy eyes, thought by projections of the forehead, grief by contracted muscles, and suffering by attenuation of the flesh, which touches us. His earnestness is so genuine

and so consistent, that however much we may be dissatisfied with the means, we still are impressed with the result. There is not an approach to a smile in any face that Van der Weyden painted ; but we may observe many a face wrung with agony and many a tear. The rare tenuity of outlines, defining parts with minute dryness, the usual absence of shadow, the pallid scale of tones in which flesh is modelled, the light of dawn before sunrise, which fills the room and landscape with an agreeable and invariable atmosphere, contribute greatly to the impression which we receive. The draperies are often broken up into angles, the stiffness or hardness of which is not diminished as it co-exists with a thick texture of stuffs ; but there is no excess of ornamentation in seams and borders ; and this is a very rare quality in a Flemish artist. In the masterpieces of the Van Eycks we are charmed by the atmosphere which pervades landscapes ; we are struck with the skill with which every part, from the foreground to the horizon, is kept in focus. Van der Weyden, who objected to shadow in every form, finishes a distance with the same touch as the grasses in the vicinity of the spectator.]

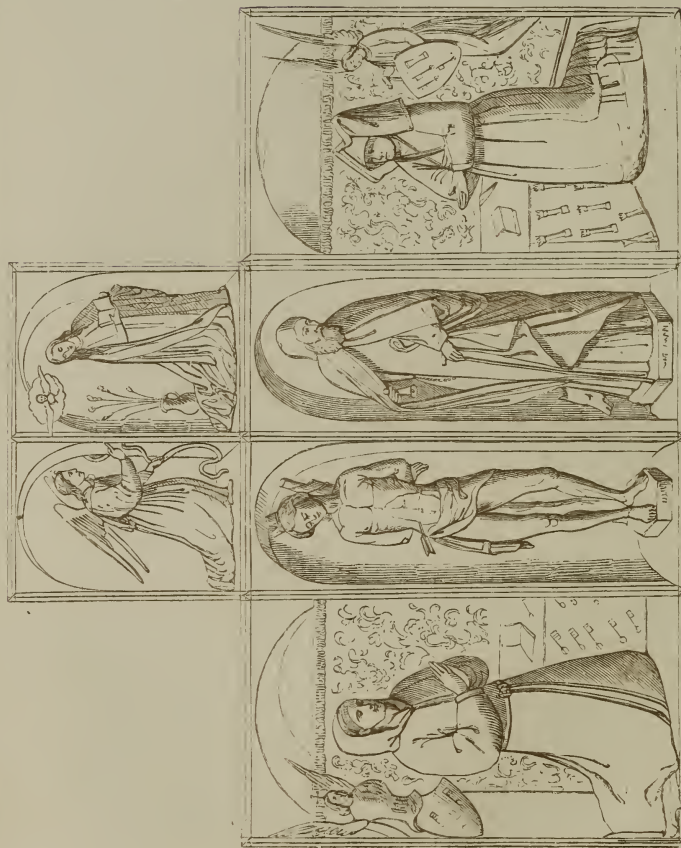
Of existing pictures the finest only need be mentioned in the order in which they were painted.

The small triptych altarpiece, presented by Pope Martin V. to the King of Spain, and brought in recent times by General Armagnac from Spain to France, now No. 534 A of the Berlin Museum, represents the Nativity, a Dead Christ in the lap of the Virgin, and Christ appearing to his Mother after his Resurrection. These are intense in feeling, powerful in colour, and of miniature-like execution, but meagre in the limbs. Painted borders to the pictures, in the manner of Gothic portals, contain numerous other subjects in chiar-oscuro.

An altarpiece, with three scenes from the life of John the Baptist, representing his Birth, the Baptism of Christ, and his Decollation, now in the Berlin Museum, No. 534 B. These pictures were formerly in Spain. They are enframed in borders, like those just described, with which they also closely agree in the whole style of execution.













THE LAST JUDGMENT. By Rogier van der Weyden the Elder.

A triptych, in the collection of the Marquis of Westminster in London ; half-length figures, and painted doubtless as a sepulchral monument. In the centre, Christ in the act of benediction ; in his left hand the globe : of very stern and almost forbidding character, and, what is unusual, with black hair. On his right is the Virgin—a noble head—adoring him : on the left John the Evangelist ; a fine head, of great depth of colour, holding the chalice in his left hand. On the right wing is John the Baptist, of very earnest character, pointing with his right hand to Christ. On the left wing the Magdalen, with a dignified expression of repentance, holding the box of ointment. This important work approaches, in point of warmth and depth of colouring, very near to the foregoing pictures.

The Last Judgment, in the hospital at Beaune. This is the most comprehensive example of the master that has descended to us. Our illustration will show how strictly his composition adheres to the forms of tradition ; while at the same time the formally symmetrical arrangement of the upper part is broken by the vivacity and freedom of the movements. The heads, especially those of John the Baptist and some of the Apostles, are unusually elevated in character for him ; the expression also of sympathy is very touching. The papal figure behind the Apostles, in the right wing, is Pope Eugenius IV. ; the crowned individual next him, Philip the Good ; and the crowned female opposite, on the left wing, probably Philip's second wife, Isabella of Portugal. The lower part, which is divided from the upper by strata of clouds, is upon the whole somewhat empty, and has also been much disfigured by over-painting. The head of the Archangel Michael is fine, but his figure too long. On the outer sides (see woodcut) are the kneeling portraits of Rollin the founder, and his wife Guignonne de Salin ; both of great excellence. The chiaroscuro figures of SS. Sebastian and Anthony, treated like statues, and the similarly painted Annunciation, are by the hand of an assistant.

[Of great importance as a school model is the large Descent from the Cross (No. 1046), in the Museum of Madrid, of which there are two copies in the National Gallery at Madrid

and the Escorial, and a third of small size in the church of St. Pierre at Louvain.]<sup>1</sup>

Next in period to the last picture we may place that now in the Städel Institute at Frankfort, which was doubtless painted for Pietro and Giovanni de' Medici, and which represents their patron-saints of the names, and those of the house of Medici, SS. Cosmo and Damian, surrounding the Virgin and Child. The execution of this picture is of the tenderest finish, and, compared with the foregoing, shows an improvement in drawing.

[Of the same period as the Medici Madonna, and not without marks of the helping hand of Memling, is the crucified Saviour, with portraits of some members of the Sforza family, sold at the sale of the Zambeccari collection in London in 1872.]

The altarpiece with wings, executed for Peter Bladelin, is in the Berlin Museum, No. 535. In the centre is the Nativity, with the kneeling donor, and angels of great beauty, some of whom kneel close to the Infant, while others hover over the roof of the stable. On the one side is the Annunciation of the Redeemer to the Ruler of the West—the Emperor Augustus—by means of the Tiburtine Sibyl; on the other the Annunciation to the Rulers of the East—the Three Kings who are keeping watch on a mountain, where the Child appears to them in a star. The arrangement of this portion is peculiarly grand, and the heads highly characteristic. This is one of the most remarkable and best preserved examples of Roger van der Weyden.

[The Crucifixion, Expulsion, and Last Judgment, recently taken from the Monastery de los Angelos to the Madrid Museum, if it be the picture ordered by the Abbot of St. Aubert, is of the period immediately following the Bladelin Nativity. It is described as a very fine example of the master.]<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See 'Early Flemish Painters,' 2nd ed., p. 196, and Dr. H. Lücke in 'Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft,' 5th year, p. 223. Dr. Waagen's opinion ('Jahrbücher,' 1st year, p. 46), that the picture in the Madrid Museum is a copy by "Peter van der Weyden," and that the small copy at Louvain is an original, is only held by himself and a writer in the 'Beffroi,' i. 111.]

<sup>2</sup> [See Dr. Waagen in 'Jahrbücher,' i. 40-44.]





ADORATION OF THE KINGS.

In the Gallery at Munich. By Roger van der Weyden.

(The standing King is a portrait of Charles the Bold of Burgundy.)



The Adoration of the Kings, with the Annunciation, and the Presentation in the Temple, in the wings, is now in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, Nos. 35, 36, 37. This was probably painted for the church of St. Columba in Cologne, and was afterwards in the Boisserée collection: we subjoin an illustration. This is one of the largest and finest works by the master. The figure of the Virgin in the Presentation is very noble, and perhaps the most successful rendering of this Handmaid of the Lord that has descended to us by the painter. The woodcut only gives the centre picture. Unfortunately, both flesh and draperies have been rendered very glaring in colour, by means of the glazings which the Boisserées employed so abundantly.

St. Luke painting the Virgin [originally placed on the altar of the Guild of St. Luke at Brussels, and now in] the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 42. The head of the Virgin is here of a portrait-like character, and of no beauty of feature. The Child also is meagre and unattractive. On the other hand, the head of St. Luke, though also portrait-like, is very agreeable; the landscape of great transparency; and the colouring of astonishing power.<sup>1</sup>

The Descent from the Cross, in the Gallery of the Hague, No. 226, and wrongly designated as Memling, is a rich composition, with heads of highly pathetic expression and admirable execution. It is rather cooler in the flesh-tones.<sup>2</sup>

The Seven Sacraments [painted for Jean Chevrot, Bishop of Tournai, and] now in the Antwerp Museum, Nos. 393, 394, and 395. On the centre and larger panel, by way of figure of the Last Supper, is the Crucifixion seen in a Gothic church. On the right wing are the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and Penance; on the left the Consecration of the Priesthood, Marriage, and Extreme Unction. The action and heads are speaking and animated, but the colouring is cooler, and the shadows less transparent, than usual.<sup>3</sup>

Among the later works of the master the following speci-

<sup>1</sup> [There are old copies of this picture in the Hermitage at Petersburg, and in the Museum at Madrid.]

<sup>2</sup> [This I believe to be a school-piece.]

<sup>3</sup> [This also I believe to be a school-piece.]

mens may be included:—Three narrow wing-pictures, with figures almost life-size, formerly in the Belgian monastery of Flemalle, now in the Städel Institute, and representing—1st. The Virgin nursing the Child: the maternal expression is admirably given, and the white drapery of masterly modelling. 2nd. St. Veronica, with the Sudarium, on which the black but very noble countenance of Christ is impressed. 3rd. The Trinity: the Almighty holding the dead, stiff, and meagre body of the Saviour, which is admirably executed in chiaroscuro.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that Roger van der Weyden, like his master, Jan van Eyck, also painted miniatures, is proved by the picture heading a Hennegau chronicle, by Jacques de Guise, in the Library of the old Dukes of Burgundy at Brussels. [?] It represents Jacques de Guise presenting this MS. on his knees to Philip the Good of Burgundy, who is surrounded by his son Charles the Bold and the grandees of his court. In point of animation and individuality of heads, keeping, power of colour, and freedom of treatment, this miniature is one of the finest which the Belgian school produced.<sup>2</sup>

No painter of this school [it has been already remarked], the Van Eycks even not excepted, exercised so great and widely extended an influence as Roger van der Weyden. Not only was Hans Memling his scholar, but innumerable works of art of various kinds were brought forth in the country,—miniatures, block-books (the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Speculum Salvationis*, the *Song of Solomon*), and old engravings—in which his form of art is recognisable. It was under the auspices of this master that the realistic tendency of the Van Eycks pervaded all Germany; for it is quite intelligible that their more universal reputation only took place after the death of Jan van Eyck, when the great considera-

<sup>1</sup> [It cannot be doubted that this is a school-piece.]

<sup>2</sup> I was the first to recognise this as the work of Roger van der Weyden. See 'Kunstblatt' of 1847, p. 177. Passavant and Count Léon de Laborde agree in my verdict. There is a lithograph of this miniature engraved in the 'Messenger,' etc., of 1825. [The painter of these miniatures is Guillaume Wijelant of Bruges, who executed them in 1468. See Pinchart's Annotations to 'Les Anciens Peintres Flamands,' p. cclxiii.]

tion in which Roger van der Weyden was held throughout Europe induced German artists to visit his atelier at Brussels. Martin Schongauer, for instance, the greatest German master of the fifteenth century, is historically known to have been a scholar of Roger. The same may be said of the painter, Frederick Herlen, who came from Nordlingen in Swabia, and his works equally show that he was taught by Roger. I shall have occasion also to mention his influence in the works of other German artists.

[Fictions in the garb of history greatly contributed to intensify and to prolong the darkness which still rests on Flemish art of the period immediately following John van Eyck's death. A great obstacle in the way of discovering the truth was the statement of very old writers that Roger van der Weyden was a disciple of the younger Van Eyck. Its fortunate removal has been the signal for a progressive clearing away of similar and equally pernicious errors.]

[HUGO VAN DER GOES is proved by documents of acknowledged authenticity to have been a long-lived, industrious, and prolific artist; yet it is his fate to be known, as Hubert van Eyck is known, by a single picture only. He is traced in records to Ghent, where he lived for a considerable number of years. Yet Van Mander states that he was a pupil of John van Eyck, who never lived at Ghent after 1421. There is some apparent confirmation of Van Mander's statement in the fact that many of Hugo's altarpieces were exhibited in Bruges churches. Yet the only picture we possess—the Nativity in Santa Maria Nuova at Florence—which can be ascribed with certainty to Van der Goes, displays but slightly the influence of the Van Eycks.

Vasari speaks of Van der Goes as "Hugo of Antwerp;"<sup>1</sup> Van Mander calls him "a painter of Bruges."<sup>2</sup> Van Vaernewijk, with substantial detail, declares him a Dutchman; and taking occasion to describe the loss of a Madonna, with St. Catherine and St. Ursula, which was torn to pieces by the Iconoclasts of 1566, in St. Jacob of Ghent, he says: "This was the cleverest piece in the whole church; it was painted

<sup>1</sup> [Vasari, Lemonniers Edition, i. 163, and xiii. 149.]

<sup>2</sup> [Van Mander, u. s. 204.]

by Hughe van der Ghoest in Zeelandt, so called because he lived long in that country, though he was born at Leyden.”<sup>1</sup> In a declaration of appraisal made in 1479, at Louvain, it is stated that in order to value a picture by Dierick Bouts, the officers of the town sent for “the most noted painter of the surrounding country, a monk, native of Ghent, at that time living in the Rooden Cloestere” (a monastery), near Brussels. Van der Goes, being the only painter known to have taken vows in the Rooden Cloestere, is supposed to be the person to whom allusion is here made, and so comes to be considered a native of Ghent.<sup>2</sup>

None of the sources upon which we rely for notices of Van der Goes tell us anything as to his birth. He was not free of the Guild of Ghent till 1465;<sup>3</sup> and he is not known to have practised anywhere before that year; yet it may be that he took the freedom of Ghent after having enjoyed that of Bruges; and this fact alone, if it were properly authenticated, would solve our doubts as to whether a man who began so late can have been born early enough to study under John van Eyck. In 1468, Van der Goes was called to Bruges to take part in the festivities of the marriage of Margaret of York; he was sent back almost immediately after to Ghent to prepare the “joyful entry” of the same princess. In both cities he was known for a special talent in designing and colouring loose cloths as ornaments for walls of houses and churches; he was also a painter of flags and scutcheons; in 1472-74 he presided as elder in the Guild of Ghent. In 1476 he was induced to withdraw from the world, and join as a novice the monastery of Rooden Cloestere. How he lived and laboured in this retreat is related to us by his companion, Gaspar Offhuys. Sometimes he felt the sting of a bad conscience, and complained that he was a miserable sinner; at other times he longed to return to the world which he had left. He was celebrated as a painter, and received visits from persons of the highest rank. With

<sup>1</sup> [Van Vaernewijk, ‘Van die Beroerlicke Tijden in die Nederlanden,’ 8vo. Ghent, 1872, p. 158.]

<sup>2</sup> [Van Even, ‘Louvain Monumental,’ fol. Louvain, 1860, p. 141.]

<sup>3</sup> [De Busscher, ‘Recherches sur les Peintres Gantois,’ pp. 111, 114.]

these he frequently enjoyed carousals which produced drunkenness and created scandal. It was thought necessary to remove him from the scene of these exploits. He was ordered off to Cologne, but on the way back he went mad and was with difficulty restored to his senses. Under these circumstances his life was not of long duration, and he died, not unlamented, in 1482.]<sup>1</sup>

Of his oil pictures, only the one mentioned by Vasari is historically authenticated. This was ordered by Tommaso Portinari, agent for the house of Medici, in Bruges, for the high altar of the church of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova at Florence, founded by his ancestor, Folco Portinari, where it is still preserved. The middle picture represents the Adoration of the Shepherds, figures almost life-size. In the centre is the Virgin kneeling, and taken almost in front; the tips of her fingers touching each other: on the right is Joseph; opposite to him three Shepherds adoring; also numerous angels. In the landscape background are the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and other figures. On the wings are the portraits of Tommaso Portinari, and two little sons, presented by their patron saints, SS. Matthew and Antony, and those of the founder's wife and daughter, presented by their patron saints, SS. Margaret and Magdalen. In the heads generally, which are portrait-like, a feeling of earnestness and severity is seen, and at the same time a deficiency in the sense of beauty. The drapery also has not only a sharp and snapt character, but the arrangement of the chief folds is stiff and hard. The scale of colour is clear, but at the same time it is very cool. The local flesh tones are partly pale, partly a coolish red; the shadows grey. Van der Goes is the earliest master of this school who painted blue draperies, broken with green, combining further with this mixture an orange colour, which is far from enhancing the general harmony. In other respects he possesses the highest qualities of the Flemish school. His portraits are true to nature and animated, his drawing is good and conscientiously carried out in every part, and his execution is solid.

<sup>1</sup> [Chronicle of Rouge Cloitre in Pinchart's Annotations, u. s., p. ccxxvi.]



Various important works, which Hugo executed for the Netherlands, perished by the hands of the Iconoclasts, such as survived having disappeared since. He also occasionally drew cartoons as designs for glass-painting; one of which, in the church of St. James at Ghent, was so fine as to be pronounced by Van Mander a design by Jan van Eyck.<sup>1</sup>

[GERARD VAN MEIRE is one of a numerous family of artists who lived during the second half of the fifteenth century at Ghent. He was free of the Painters' Guild in 1452, and sub-dean of the same in 1472.<sup>2</sup> The only picture in existence with which his name is intimately connected is a triptych in a chapel of St. Bavon at Ghent, representing the Crucifixion, the Raising of the Brazen Serpent, and Moses striking the Rock. These compositions are remarkable for the number of figures which they contain; but they are not remarkable for skilful distribution.] The figures are stiff and lame; the heads generally monotonous in character, and without modelling; the drapery with sharp breaks; the proportions too long; and the figures, especially of Christ and the thieves, very meagre. A few of the heads, however, such as the Virgin and the Centurion, are of elevated expression; and the rocky landscape, with the snow mountains in the distance, even beautiful. The clear and somewhat crude general effect is partly attributable to overcleaning. A few better preserved portions, such as the Moses, and the two male figures standing behind him, show the power and depth of the original colouring.

[In many public galleries, and particularly in the Berlin Museum, we find pictures assigned to Van der Meire, which display some well-defined and individual features. Most characteristic of this peculiar manner is the stunted proportion of the human frame, the marked yet tenuous outline, the soft pallor of flesh, modelled with excessive care, and relieved by a mere indication of shadow; prominent shape

<sup>1</sup> Some of the most important pictures wrongly given to him will be described in the notices on other masters. See Van Mander, folio 127 b.

<sup>2</sup> [Van der Meire was supposed to have been a pupil of Hubert van Eyck, but the authority upon which this statement was made is now very properly contested. See 'Early Flemish Painters,' 2nd ed., p. 146.]



in foreheads, and long noses and jaws. The landscapes are minute and finished. Two or three specimens in this style deserve more particularly to be mentioned: the Visitation, at Berlin, with a kneeling donor (No. 542); the Epiphany, at Berlin (No. 527); the Visitation, in the collection of Baron Speck von Sternburg at Lüttschena, near Leipzig, a very well preserved and most interesting piece; and a Carmelite Monk (No. 264), in the National Gallery. Of the same school, and equally careful in execution, but of a warmer and more mellow tone, is the Raising of the Body of St. Hubert of Liège, an altarpiece (No. 783), in the National Gallery, which has been ascribed successively to many painters, and at last to Dierick Bouts. It is necessary to bear in mind that if all or any of the pictures enumerated in the foregoing lines were by Gerard van der Meire, he was a disciple of the school of Van der Weyden rather than of that of the Van Eycks.]

[JUSTUS OF GHENT, a contemporary of Van der Goes and Van der Meire, is better known in Italy than in Flanders. Yet he must have had some practice in the Netherlands before he became known to Frederick of Montefeltro, who sent for him to paint the portrait of his duchess and decorate his library "with figures of philosophers, poets, and doctors of the church."<sup>1</sup> Vespasiano de Bisticci, who wrote the life of Frederick of Montefeltro, does not name the painter who was selected to perform these commissions; yet we can hardly doubt that he meant to allude to Justus of Ghent, who, as early as 1470, finished for the brotherhood of Corpus Christi the "Communion of the Apostles," which is now exhibited (No. 46) in the town gallery of Urbino.<sup>2</sup> We shall be struck, when looking at this piece, by faulty perspective and a certain disproportion in the size of figures on different planes. In other respects the picture is worthy of

<sup>1</sup> [See Vespasiano, in 'Mai's Lives.' Rome, 1839. That Justus can have been a pupil of Hubert Van Eyck is impossible. See De Bast, in 'Messager des Sciences.' Ghent, 1822, p. 132, corrected by Ruelens. Notes et Additions, u. s., cxviii.]

<sup>2</sup> [See the payments for the altarpiece to 'Giusto da Guanto,' in Pungileoni's 'Elogio Storico di Gio. Santi,' 8vo. Urbino, 1822, pp. 64-66.]

attention as the work of an artist who upheld the fame of the Flemings in a remote corner of Italy.] The composition representing Christ standing in the act of giving the chalice to the Apostles kneeling around, is arranged with considerable artistic discrimination. With the exception of the Christ, whose striding position and head are unsuccessful, the movements are free and speaking. The forms of the hands, and other portions of the figures, which are three-fourths life-size, are well rendered. Finally, the brownish, though not very deep and transparent, flesh-tones, are effective enough. The portraits of Federigo di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino; of Caterino Zeno, envoy from the Venetian republic, and of an aged man, probably the painter himself, are very true and living. The predella, containing allegorical representations of the Holy Sacrament, no longer exists.

[Later in life, Justus, if we accept him as the painter of the figures now preserved in the Barberini palace at Rome, and in the Louvre in Paris, tempered the hardness of the Flemish style with a breadth and freedom derived from the schools of Santi and Melozzo; and it is not uninteresting to trace the wavering inclinations of the master in the northern air of "Solon," "Augustin," or "St. Jerom," and the southern stamp of a "Dante" or "Vittorino da Feltre." The master of whom Justus most reminds us is Roger van der Weyden.]

[To conclude this notice of the masters of Ghent in the fifteenth century, it is only necessary to name NABOR MARTIN (1404-1453), the probable author of a wall painting in the "Grande Boucherie" at Ghent, a damaged composition of the Nativity, with portraits of Philip the Good, his wife and child, dated 1448.]<sup>1</sup>

Contemporary with Roger van der Weyden, but, it appears, in less dependence on the style of the Van Eycks, there flourished in Haarlem a painter of the name of ALBERT VAN OUWATER, who founded there an original Dutch school. Van Mander<sup>2</sup> mentions him as a capital master, who particularly excelled in the drawing of hands and feet, and in the rendering of drapery and landscape. His especial excellence in the

<sup>1</sup> [See De Busscher, 'Recherches sur les Peintres Gantois,' pp. 60-95.]

<sup>2</sup> [Van Mander, 128 b.]

latter department, and the fact of his being the founder of the very early school of landscape-painting in Haarlem, appear from the circumstance that several of his landscapes were preserved in the house of Cardinal Grimani<sup>1</sup> in the sixteenth century. Unfortunately no picture by him can now be positively identified. A *Pietà* in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna,<sup>2</sup> which Passavant ascribes to the master,<sup>3</sup> is at all events an excellent picture of the early Dutch school: the composition is devoid of style, and most of the heads ugly, but of intense feeling and expression; the proportions are long, the execution of the utmost solidity.

A scholar of Ouwater, GEERTGEN VON ST. JANS, so called from a monastery of the Knights of St. John at Haarlem, where he resided, was, according to Van Mander, a very distinguished painter, whose talent was admired by Albert Durer on occasion of his visit to Haarlem.<sup>4</sup> He died, however, at the early age of twenty-eight.<sup>5</sup> The only authenticated pictures by him are two wings of an altarpiece mentioned by Van Mander, and now in the Vienna Gallery,<sup>6</sup> Nos. 58 and 60, the one representing a *Pietà*; the other, three legends referring to the bones of John the Baptist—namely, to their interment in the presence of Christ, the burning of them by Julian the Apostate, and the removal of some of them to the chief seat of the Knights of St. John, St. Jean d'Acre, in 1252. The heads have throughout a portrait-like appearance, and are animated, though, with the exception of some of the Knights of St. John, who are elevated in character, the forms are ugly. The figures, which are smaller in proportion to the landscape than in most of the pictures of the Van Eyck school, are over-slender and meagre,

<sup>1</sup> 'Anonimo,' by Morelli, p. 76, and p. 220, etc.

<sup>2</sup> There attributed to Jan van Eyck; Catalogue, No. 12, second room of second floor.

<sup>3</sup> 'Kunstblatt' of 1841, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> [I have been unable to discover any trace of Dürer's visit to Haarlem.]

<sup>5</sup> Van Mander, folio 129.

<sup>6</sup> According to a short notice on the back of the second picture, they were presented to Charles I. by the States-General in 1635, and probably bought with other pictures by the Archduke Leopold, at the sale of the Royal Gallery. The *Pietà* was engraved by T. Matham, with a notification of the master's name.

but of very good drawing. A heavy brown tone predominates in the flesh. The darkening of the otherwise admirably modelled draperies renders the general effect somewhat heavy and spotty. The execution of detail, which extends equally to all accessories, is marvellous. Great attention is paid to the making out of the landscape. Judging from the style of art, these pictures may be assigned to about 1460-70.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest scholar<sup>2</sup> of Roger van der Weyden was indubitably HANS MEMLING. All that is known of him with historical certainty is, that in 1477-78 he was living at Bruges; [that about 1480 he bought the leasehold of a house, and that he died in 1495, at Bruges.<sup>3</sup>] In him the school attains the highest delicacy of artistic development; while at the same time, in feeling for beauty and grace, he was more gifted than any painter subsequent to Hubert van Eyck. Compared with those of his master, his figures are of better proportions and less meagreness of form; his hands and feet truer to nature; the heads of his women are sweeter, and those of his men less severe; his outlines are softer; in the modelling of his flesh parts more delicacy of half-tones is observable; and his colours are still more luminous and transparent. In aërial perspective also, and chiaroscuro, his works show an improvement. On the other hand, he is inferior to Roger van der Weyden the elder in the carrying out of detail—for instance, in that of the materials of his draperies—and in the rendering the full brilliancy of gold. In the earlier time, when he occasionally worked on the same panel with his master,<sup>4</sup> the pictures of the two are difficult to

<sup>1</sup> [It is very doubtful whether the painter of these pieces can have lived in the fifteenth century. I believe them to be by an artist of the sixteenth century.]

<sup>2</sup> The name "Ausse," or "Havesse," both Italian perversions of the name which Vasari (Siena edition, vol. i., p. 177; vol. iii., p. 312; vol. xi., p. 63) mentions as a scholar of Roger of Bruges, is without doubt intended for Hans Memling, which is further proved by the resemblance between the works of each.

<sup>3</sup> [Consult Mr. Weale in the 'Journal des Beaux Arts' for 1860, pp. 22, 35, 36.]

<sup>4</sup> Margaret of Austria possessed a small altarpiece, the centre of which was by Roger and the wings by Memling. See 'Inventaire des Tableaux,' etc., belonging to this princess, by Count de Laborde, p. 24.

distinguish. Of no other painter of this school have so many first-rate works descended to us. I proceed now to quote those which I personally know, in the order in which I believe them to have been executed :—

A small altarpiece in the Gallery at Munich, Cabinets, Nos. 48, 49, 50. The Adoration of the Kings, the centre picture, has decidedly the impress of the master ; the wings, John the Baptist and St. Christopher, show, in their lengthy proportions and hard outlines, more the style of Roger. Much of their original character, however, has been sacrificed by cleaning and over-paintings with glazing colours.<sup>1</sup>

The Crucifixion, a large altar picture in the first room of the *Palais de Justice* at Paris. On the right of the cross is the Virgin fainting, supported by a woman, and with another woman, John the Baptist, and St. Louis ; on the left, John the Evangelist, St. Denys, and Charlemagne. The building of the old Louvre and the Tour de Nesle, seen in the landscape, show that the painter executed this picture in Paris. The somewhat feeble drawing of the feet, and even of the hands, assigns this work to his early time. The heads, however, are masterly, and some of them of intense feeling.<sup>2</sup>

A small Diptych, with a rich composition of the Crucifixion on one side, and the donor, Jeanne de France, daughter of John, 2nd Duke of Bourbon, with her patron saint, St. John the Baptist, and the Virgin and Child in the sky, on the other. A picture of miniature-like delicacy. In possession of the Rev. John Fuller Russell, Greenhithe, Kent.<sup>3</sup>

The wings of a smaller altarpiece, with the portraits of the founders, man and wife, and their patron saint. Formerly in Miss Rogers's collection, subsequently belonging to Vernon Smith, Esq. ; of great truth, very harmonious and warm tone, and admirable execution in the landscapes.

<sup>1</sup> [This altarpiece was painted for the family chapel of the Snoij of Malines. It is still catalogued at Munich as a work of Memling, yet is so entirely in the style of Dierick Bouts, that it must be assigned to that painter.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Waagen is the only critic who assigns this picture to Memling. It is possibly by Van der Goes.]

<sup>3</sup> 'Galleries and Cabinets of Great Britain,' p. 285. [This can at best be but a school-piece.]



The Last Judgment, in the church of Our Lady at Dantzic; a large altar-picture.<sup>1</sup> The composition of this work, given in the annexed woodcut, is far richer and better arranged than that of the picture of the same subject by Roger, though his influence is still very perceptible. In the centre, on a large and brilliant rainbow, which touches the horizon, sits the Saviour, with the severe expression of the judge. A red sword is suspended on the left, a lily-branch on the right of his head; a golden ball (painted) hangs in the air as His footstool, and reflects the nearest objects. He is clothed in a red mantle fastened on the breast, and falling over the lap in beautiful folds. Above him hover four angels with the instruments of the Passion, and below him are three others with the trumpets of the Last Judgment. At his right kneels the Virgin, with an expression of mercy and maternal intercession; on the left is John the Baptist, and on both sides are ranged the Apostles—fine figures, with heads of great excellence, though of different degrees of beauty. In the lower half of the picture stands St. Michael, clad in golden armour, so bright as to reflect in the most complete manner all the surrounding objects. This figure is slender, but colossal as compared with the rest, and he seems to be bending earnestly forward; a splendid purple mantle extends from his shoulders to the ground, and he has large wings composed of glittering peacock's feathers. He holds the balance of justice, in which the souls of men are weighed; the scale with the good rests on the earth, but that with the souls which are found wanting quickly mounts into the air: a demon stands ready to receive the Damned, and towards this scale St. Michael directs the end of a black staff with a rich handle, which he holds in his right hand. Around is a plain, out of which, as well as in the depth of the landscape background, the dead are rising from their graves; on one side are the Blessed in the act of ascending to heaven, on the other the Damned. Close behind the archangel, an angel and a demon are contending for a soul. Inexpressible anguish, grief, and despair bordering on madness, are depicted in the various groups of the Damned of

<sup>1</sup> First rightly attributed to him by Professor Hotho.





PLATE 91.



LARGE ALTARPIECE, by Hans Memling, of the LAST JUDGMENT. At Dantzic.





every age and sex, who are crowded together on the left of St. Michael. Grotesque figures of demons, some of them decked out with coloured butterfly wings, are mixed up with the lost souls, and are driving them with demoniac glee into the abyss. On the right all is holy peace, and the countenances of the Blessed already express a foretaste of approaching bliss. The left wing represents Hell; between steep and craggy rocks flames are raging, and sparks and smoke burst forth, while the Damned are hurled downwards in frantic terror, and are tormented in various ways. Here a pair of lovers, fastened together with fine cords, are suspended between the teeth of a bat-winged fiend; there another stands on the throat of a falling woman, whilst with his hooked fork he drags a priest after him. Some ape-like demons are pulling down the lost souls by the hair, whilst others bear their prey upon their backs and torment them with firebrands. The variety of attitude and the boldness of the foreshortening are masterly—the gradations of tone given to the one prevailing expression of sorrow and despair are surprisingly varied. In the right side-picture is a splendid Gothic portal, adorned with columns, and through its open gates the Blessed are passing in. Subjects from the Old and New Testament in bas-relief embellish the façade and ceiling of the high-arched vestibule, whilst angels of great beauty, clothed in rich vestments, stand on the balustrades and on the two balconies of the building, singing, playing, and strewing flowers. Clouds surround the building on both sides. As the Blessed draw near, they are received and guided by angels, who clothe them in splendid garments. Peter, with the keys of Heaven, stands at the gate, and beckons to the elect. His figure is majestic. A host of priests have already ascended the steps. Here, too, we find the same variety of countenances, all apparently copied from nature, and the same truth which we have noticed in representing grief and despair, but here the predominant expression is that of humble astonishment and tranquil joy. The execution of detail, the depth and variety of expression in the heads, the force of colouring, and the modelling and rendering of every portion, are admirable. Judging from

the numbers 67 on a tombstone, it is probable that this picture was painted in 1467.<sup>1</sup> This is not only the most important by Memling that has descended to us, but one of the chefs-d'œuvre of the whole school.

[The Baptist, a small but most delicate piece by Memling, at the Munich Pinakothek (Cabinets, No. 105), once, we may believe, part of a diptych dated 1470, in possession of Cardinal Bembo.]

King David and Bathsheba, in the Gallery at Stuttgart (No. 398). The figure of Bathsheba is remarkable as the only one life-sized and undraped by Memling. The drawing and modelling are very successful for the period.<sup>2</sup>

A picture, with figures of small size, representing all the scenes of the Passion from Palm Sunday to the recognition of Christ by the Disciples at Emmaus, in a number of separate groups, is in the Royal Gallery at Turin. [It is, there is every reason to believe, the centre part of the altarpiece painted by Memling in 1477-8 for the chapel of the Booksellers' Guild at Bruges.]<sup>3</sup>

A small altarpiece in St. John's Hospital at Bruges, No. 16: the centre represents a Pietà; the inner sides of the wings, the donor, Adrian Rheims, a brother of the Order, and his patron saint, St. Adrian, with St. Barbara; and the outer, SS. Helena and Mary of Egypt. The proportions are still too long, the heads very tender and of deep feeling. This has unfortunately lost something of its power and colour by cleaning.

A small altarpiece, also in St. John's Hospital, No. 3: the Adoration in the centre, with the portrait of the founder, a brother of the Order; the wings containing the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple; the outer sides John the Baptist and St. Veronica. This is the only instance where,

<sup>1</sup> [The picture formed part of the lading of a ship chartered by Tommaso Portinari of Bruges, and captured by a Dantzic privateer in 1473. See Weinreich's *Chronik*, 4to. Berlin 1855.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Waagen's opinion in respect of this picture is entitled to respect, though it is not quite convincing. The painter may be a pupil of Quentin Massys. O. Mündler is said to have held the opinion that it was by Massys himself. Consult W. Lübke in '*Zeitschr. f. bild. Künst.*' iii., 230].

<sup>3</sup> [See '*Early Flemish Painters*,' 2nd ed. p. 267.]

besides the date 1479, the name of the painter occurs in full. The arrangement of the composition shows the influence of the often-quoted picture by Roger van der Weyden in the Gallery at Munich. The heads are more delicate and sweet, but less earnest and grand—the execution freer, but less solid. This gem has also partially, but very seriously, suffered by cleaning.

[Of the same date as the Adoration, but in the spirit of the Turin altarpiece], a picture (see frontispiece) of a long form, now at Munich, and formerly in the Boisseree collection, deserves especial notice. It represents the principal events of the life of Christ and the Virgin (the seven joys of the Virgin); not in separate compartments, but as one great whole, united in a landscape, with an endless number of subordinate events: a whole world of life, and joy, and sorrow—all executed with wonderful grace and beauty. [This beautiful piece was painted for Pierre Bultyneck, a currier of Bruges, who presented it to the chapel of his guild in 1479.]<sup>1</sup>

The Annunciation, inscribed 1482, in possession of Prince Radzivil, at Berlin. A picture of very original conception and marvellous delicacy. Also injured in parts.

The Virgin and Child, with angel and donor, in the Vienna Gallery; there called Hugo van der Goes.

A large altarpiece, in the collection of the Academy at Bruges, No. 9 [painted for Willem Moreel] the centre containing St. Christopher, with SS. Maur and Giles at his side; on the inside of the wings, St. William, with the donor and his sons, and St. Barbara, with the donor's wife and her daughter; on the outside, in chiaroscuro, John the Baptist and St. George. Inscribed with the date 1484. All the heads very true to nature. In that of St. Christopher the moment of spiritual enlightenment is admirably expressed. The infant Christ is the feeblest figure. Of the saints, SS. Maur, Giles, and Barbara are refined in heads, and of mild expression, but St. John the Baptist is the most successful. Here the original excellent modelling is still in good preservation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *Le Beffroi*, fol. Bruges, ii., 268.]

<sup>2</sup> [This picture is full of massive repaints.]



A small altarpiece, at Chiswick, seat of the Duke of Devonshire. The Virgin and Child, with the donors, [Sir John and Lady Donne,] with their children, adoring, and their patron saints, Agnes and Barbara. On the wings, SS. John the Baptist and Evangelist. This picture, which is mentioned by Horace Walpole as by Jan van Eyck, is in every respect one of the finest works of the master.

St. Christopher, at Holker Hall, Lancashire, seat of the Duke of Devonshire. Very like the same saint on the wing-picture at Munich, but incomparably better rendered, and in excellent preservation. Erroneously called Albert Durer.

Portrait of an aged Canon of the Order of St. Norbert, in the Museum at Antwerp, No. 253. In the expression of simple and intense devotion this admirably-executed picture makes an impression on the mind as of an historical work.

Portrait of a member of the family of Croy, also in the Antwerp Museum, No. 254. Of uncommon truth and masterly rendering, in a somewhat cool tone.<sup>1</sup>

Small altarpiece, in the Collection of Rev. Mr. Heath, vicar of Enfield. The dead Christ bewailed by the Virgin, St. John, and the Magdalen. On the wings, St. James the Major, and St. Christopher. The body of the Christ is very meagre; the expression of sorrow in those around fine and intense, and the colour very clear and powerful.<sup>2</sup>

The Marriage of St. Catherine, in St. John's Hospital.<sup>3</sup> The Virgin is placed in the centre, on a seat under a porch, with tapestry hanging down behind it: two angels hold a crown, with much grace, over her head; beside her kneels St. Catherine, her head one of the finest by Memling, on whose finger the beautiful infant Christ places a ring of betrothal; behind her is a charming figure of an angel playing on the organ; and further back St. John the Baptist, attended by

<sup>1</sup> [Instead of noticing these two portraits, which are very doubtful as productions of Memling, we should prefer to keep in remembrance the two fine portraits of Willem Moreel, his wife and daughter; the two first, Nos. 21 and 22, in the Brussels Museum; the third, under the name of the Sibyl Zambetha, in the Hospital of Bruges.]

<sup>2</sup> 'Cabinets and Galleries of Great Britain,' p. 313, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription and date, 1479, are apocryphal. See article by me in 'Kunstsblatt' of 1854, p. 178.



the lamb. On the other side kneels St. Barbara, reading; behind her another angel holds a book to the Virgin; and still deeper in the picture is St. John the Evangelist, whose figure is of great beauty, and of a mild and thoughtful character. Through the arcades of the porch, we look out, at each side of the throne, on a rich landscape, in which are represented scenes from the lives of the two St. Johns. The panel on the right side contains the Beheading of the Baptist, and at a distance a building, with a glimpse into the landscape, in which are again introduced events from the life of the saint. On the left is St. John the Evangelist, on the island of Patmos, about to write in a book, and looking upwards, where the vision of the Apocalypse appears to him—the Lord, on a throne, in a glory of dazzling light, encompassed with a rainbow. In a larger circle are the hosts of the Elders, with a solemn character of countenance, in white garments, and with harps in their hands; opposite to them, among flames and mystic forms, is the four-headed beast. Below all is a landscape, in which men are fleeing, and seeking to conceal themselves among the rocks, whilst the four horsemen, in the swiftness of their might, are bursting on them. Finally, the sea, with its deep green crystal waves, reflects the entire subject, the rainbow, the glow of the sky, the mystic figures, and the forms on the shore, and thus unites these various objects into one great whole. On the outside of the wings are four saints, two male and two female, and kneeling before them are men and women in religious vestments. The whole forms a work strikingly poetical, and most impressive in character; it is highly finished, both in drawing and in its treatment as a picture, and is, with exception of the outer sides, which are over-cleaned and badly retouched, in tolerable preservation. This picture approaches very near to that in the Academy at Bruges; the better drawing, namely, of the feet, shows that it was painted somewhat later, probably in 1486.

A votive picture, somewhat larger than the centre compartment of the last-mentioned work, is in possession of Count Duchâtel of Paris. The head of the Virgin, who is enthroned in the centre with the Child, agrees closely with

that of the last we have described. On the right are the men and youths under the protection of John the Baptist ; on the left the women and maidens, under that of another male saint ; both parties in considerable numbers, and kneeling. It is greatly to be regretted that the flesh-parts of the Virgin, the Child, and of all the female figures in this fine picture, have become pale through over-cleaning. The work itself has great affinity with that of the Marriage of St. Catherine. The architecture of the background is of masterly treatment. This is one of the many pictures of this school which had made its way to Spain.

The Marriage of St. Catherine, in the Strasburg Gallery, there called Lucas van Leyden.<sup>1</sup>

Of about the same time may be the Virgin and Child adored by Nevenhoven, the donor of the picture, dated 1487, in St. John's Hospital. The Virgin is of portrait-like character ; the portrait itself of the utmost animation. The forms are decided, the colouring not so luminous as usual.

Portrait of a man with joined hands, dated 1487, in the Uffizi.<sup>2</sup>

The Virgin and Child, from the collection of H.R.H. the Prince Consort at Kensington [now No. 709 at the National Gallery]. This agrees so entirely with the last-described picture that it must have been painted in the same year.

[The Virgin and Child, with a kneeling nobleman guarded by St. George ; from the Weyer collection at Cologne, now No. 686 in the National Gallery.

St. John the Baptist and St. Lawrence, also (No. 747) in the National Gallery].

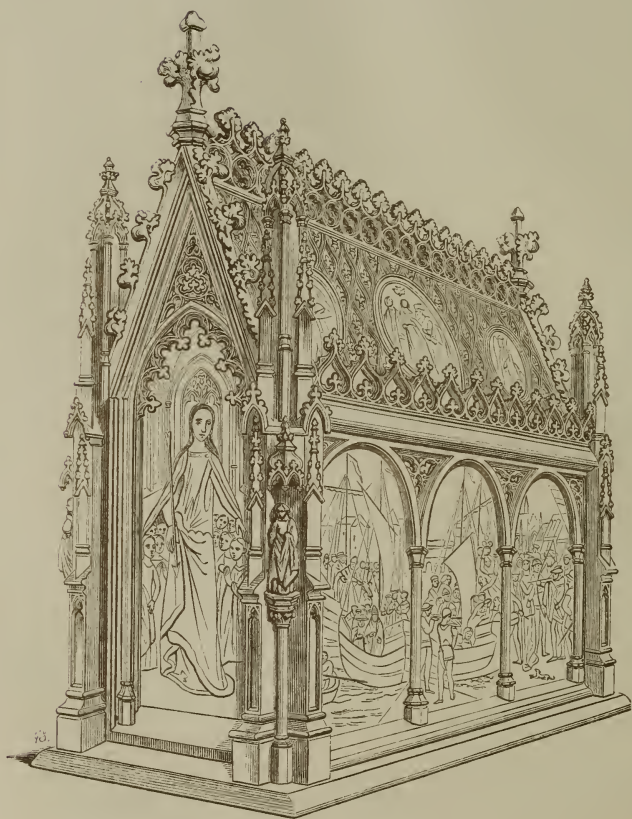
Portrait of a man with an open book in his hands, called St. Benedict (No. 769) in the Uffizi.

A small picture, in the possession of the sculptor and medal die-sinker, M. Gatteau, at Paris, represents the Virgin seated with the Child in a cheerful hilly landscape, and placing the ring on the finger of St. Catherine, who closely resembles the same saint in the picture at Bruges. Next

<sup>1</sup> [This picture perished by fire during the bombardment of Strasburg in 1870.]

<sup>2</sup> [The date is 1482.]





THE RELIQUARY OF ST. URSULA.

By Hans Memling In the Chapel of St John's Hospital at Bruges,

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her are SS. Agnes and Cecilia, opposite SS. Ursula, Margaret, and Lucy. In the sky are three angels playing the flute. This picture is a marvel of beauty in the small heads, of great tenderness, feeling, delicacy of execution, and clearness of golden tone ; and also in the rarest preservation.

To the same time belongs : a small picture in the gallery of the Uffizi, the Virgin and Child, and two angels playing, very lovely in the heads, and of great glow of colour, [of which there is a charming repetition on a small scale in the country palace of Wörlitz, near Dessau ; a most expressive small panel of the Pietà in the Doria Palace at Rome ; and two small figures of saints, the Baptist and Magdalen, in the Louvre.]

In St. John's Hospital is also the celebrated Reliquary of St. Ursula, see woodcut, a shrine about four feet in length ; its style and form are those of rich Gothic church architecture, such as we often find adopted for the larger depositories of relics. The whole exterior of this casket is adorned with miniatures in oil by Memling. On each side of the cover are three medallions—a large one in the centre, and two smaller at the sides. The latter contain angels playing on musical instruments ; in the centre, on one side, is a Coronation of the Virgin ; on the other, the Glorification of St. Ursula and her companions, with two figures of Bishops. On the gable-end, in front, are the Virgin and Child, before whom two sisters of the hospital are kneeling. At the other end is St. Ursula, with the arrow, the instrument of her martyrdom, and the virgins who seek protection under her outspread mantle. On the longer sides of the Reliquary itself, in six rather large compartments, enclosed in Gothic arcades, is painted the history of St. Ursula. According to the legend, this saint was the daughter of an English king, who, with an innumerable train of companions, her pious lover, and an escort of knights, set out, by the command of God, on a pilgrimage to Rome. On their journey home they suffered martyrdom at Cologne. The subjects of each picture separately are—1. The landing at Cologne, in the beginning of the journey ; Ursula, clothed in princely purple, and her hair braided with pearls, steps from the

boat; whilst a virgin at her side carries a casket of jewels. With pious humility she bends kindly to the virgins who receive her. The view of Cologne is taken from the place, so that the principal buildings are easily recognized. 2. The landing at Basle. The princess, with part of her followers, has landed, and goes towards the old city. Two more ships approach the landing-place. In the background we see the Alps: here, then, the virgin host have already set out on their land journey. 3. The arrival in Rome. Pope Cyriacus receives the princess, who is followed from the mountains by her train. Youthful knights, with Conan, the lover of St. Ursula, at their head, accompany them. The church is thrown open, and in it some are in the act of receiving baptism, whilst others are at confession. 4. The second arrival at Basle. In the background are the gates of the city, from which the princess and her companions are advancing to the river. In the foreground the embarkation has already begun. In a large boat sit the pope between two cardinals, and St. Ursula between two virgins, engaged in devout discourse. 5 and 6. The martyrdom. The camp of the Emperor Maximin, the enemy of the Christians, is seen on the banks of the Rhine; the two ships are just putting in; in the nearer one is the Bishop who has attended St. Ursula from Rome; a crossbowman and an archer discharge their arrows into the boat. In the other, Conan, who has come to the front, receives his death wound from a spear. One of the virgins, stabbed in the breast, falls back into the arms of St. Ursula, who is again represented, in 6, awaiting her death with calm resignation. The female figure in the background, who is clasping her hands with an expression of pity, seems to belong to the suite of the Emperor. These little pictures are among the very best productions of the Flemish school. The drawing in these small figures is much more beautiful than in the larger examples by the same master; there is nothing in them meagre, stiff, or angular; the movements are free; the execution and tone of colour, with all its softness, very powerful; the expression, in the single heads, of the highest excellence.





DEATH OF ST. URSULA.

One of the Paintings by Memling on the Reliquary of St. Ursula at Bruges,

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The six pictures on the cover are not so fine, and evidently executed by another hand.

A large altarpiece, with double wings, in the cathedral at Lubeck. On the outer sides of the first pair of wings is the Annunciation in chiaroscuro. The two figures are of slender and elevated character, the heads of great sweetness and refinement, and the draperies of excellent taste and very careful modelling. On the inner sides of these wings are SS. Blaise and Egidius, and, on the outsides of the next pair of wings, John the Baptist and St. Jerome. These four figures are among the finest specimens of the master's art. The inner sides of the last-mentioned wings are connected in subject with the centre picture. The right wing contains scenes from the life of Christ, from the Passion in the Garden to the Bearing of the Cross, which proceed from the background and terminate in the foreground. The centre picture shows the Crucifixion, including the two thieves—a composition of thirty-five figures. This is the most important representation of the subject which this school offers, full of original motives, and of admirable carrying out. On the left wing is the Entombment in the foreground, and in the middle distance and background the subsequent events, terminating with the Ascension. The date, 1491, on this picture, is the latest known on any picture by Memling, and shows him in his greatest perfection.<sup>1</sup>

The travelling altarpiece of Charles V., at Madrid. The centre represents the Adoration of the Kings, the wings the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple. The figures are about one-third life size. [This triptych is composed on the model of that of Van der Weyden at Munich, and is not unlike that of Memling at Bruges. Some parts of it are due to the master's assistants.]

It is not surprising that an oil-painter who excelled in works on so small a scale should have been also an excellent miniature-painter. This is proved by the miniatures in the

<sup>1</sup> See article by me in the 'Kunstblatt' of 1846, No. 28. [Dr. Waagen never saw this picture after 1846. If he had done so, he would not have been so eloquent in its praise. It bears copious traces of the assistance which Memling had from his journeymen.]

well-known Breviary bequeathed by Cardinal Grimani to the Library of St. Mark's at Venice. This relic, which is the richest and most beautiful specimen of early Netherlandish miniature-painting, was executed, I am convinced, for Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold.<sup>1</sup>

[DIERICK STURBOUT, or BOUTS, one of the best guildsmen of Louvain, produced most of his pictures in that city after 1466, and in feeling as well as treatment shows himself a disciple of Van der Weyden. During a tour in the Netherlands Van Mander became aware of the existence of Dierick, whose house in the Cruys Straet at Haarlem he was taken to see. Further on in the same tour Van Mander came to Leyden, where he saw a picture with an inscription to this purport, that it was executed at Louvain in 1462 by Dirk, who was a native of Haarlem.<sup>2</sup> In 1450 Dierick was married, and settled at Louvain, where he remained till his death in 1475.]<sup>3</sup>

As early as 1462, Dierick probably painted a most characteristic portrait, first of a man in a high cap, which was for some years accessible to the London public, in the collections of Mr. Aders and Rogers the poet. In 1466-8 he completed two pictures for chapels in St. Pierre of Louvain: for the smaller chapel the martyrdom of St. Erasmus in the

<sup>1</sup> See article by me in the 'Kunstblatt' of 1847, No. 49. [Mr. W. H. J. Weale proves almost conclusively that this Breviary was written in or after 1484. One of the miniatures—an Epiphany—is an exact reduction of that of Memling at Munich. See 'Le Beffroi,' ii., 213, 214.]

<sup>2</sup> This inscription [was in Latin, but in Van Mander's Flemish translation, it runs as] follows:—"Duysent vier hundred en twee et tsestien Jaer nac Christus gheboort, heeft Dirk, de te Haerlem is ghebooren my te Lowen ghemaect, de ewighge rust moet hem ghewerden." This picture consisted of figures the size of life, Christ in the centre, and SS. Peter and Paul on the wings.

<sup>3</sup> [Wauters in A. Pinchart's Annot., u. s., p. ccxxxi., proves the existence of Dierick at Louvain in 1450. The same writer published a notice in the 'Chronicle of the Historical Society of Utrecht,' vi., p. 268, in which he tried to show that Dierick was born in 1391. As a proof of this he quoted evidence of a trial at Brussels in 1467, in which one "Thierri of Haarlem" gave testimony, saying that he was then seventy-six years old. This reasoning convinced Dr. Waagen, who accordingly makes Dierick a pupil of Hubert van Eyck. It might have occurred to both Wauters and Dr. Waagen to inquire whether Thierri of Haarlem and Dierick Bouts were identical, which is altogether impossible. For how should we be without records of the industry of a painter born in 1391, until so late a period as 1462? See also 'Early Flemish Painters,' 2nd ed. 325-331.]

centre, and SS. Jerome and Bernard on the wings; for the larger chapel also the Last Supper in the centre, and on the wings four compartments, one above the other, with emblematical representations of the Lord's Supper, taken from the Old Testament. The last altarpiece, on which he laboured several years, receiving from time to time small instalments of payment, was completed in the year 1467.<sup>1</sup> In [1468, Dierick appears for the first time in the city accounts as "town painter," having finished for the council chamber of the Town-hall two pictures, now preserved (Nos. 30 and 31) in the Brussels Museum. These pictures] consist of life-sized figures, and represent events calculated to admonish the judges of the strict fulfilment of their office. These were taken from a legend in the Chronicle of Gottfried of Viterbo, written in the twelfth century, relating how the Emperor Otho III. had, on the false testimony of his empress, a guilty and disappointed woman, executed one of the nobles of his court. The wife of the murdered man, however, proved, by the ordeal of fire, the innocence of her husband; the empress was condemned to the flames.<sup>2</sup> For these pictures the painter received the then considerable sum of 230 crowns, a proof how highly his works were esteemed; while the satisfaction of the magistracy was further shown by the immediate commission to execute two more works. The one, an altarpiece with wings, six feet high and four feet wide, representing the Last Judgment, was destined for the council-chamber of the Sheriffs, and was completed in 1472; the other, intended to take its place in a collection of pictures

<sup>1</sup> That both these altarpieces, designated in the church as the works of Memling, and by me attributed to Justus van Ghent, are by the hand of Stuerbout, is evident from the following passage in Molanus:—"Theodorici filii opus sunt in ecclesia D. Petri duo altaria venerabilis sacramenti quæ multum ex arte commendantur." The fullest confirmation of this passage has been extracted by M. Edward van Even from the financial records of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament for the last-named picture. Even the painter's receipt, of the year 1467, has been found. It runs thus: "Je Dieric Bouts kenne mi vernucht (*sic*) en wel betaelt, als van den werc dat ic ghemackt hebbe den heiligen sacrement."

<sup>2</sup> This appears from a record in the Annals of Louvain, first published in the 'Messenger des Sciences,' etc., p. 18, 1832, and afterwards by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in 'Early Flemish Painters,' 1st ed. p. 290.

which the city authorities proposed forming in the Town-hall, consisted of four pieces, ranging twelve feet in height, and, forming altogether a length of twenty-six feet, would have been the largest known work of this school. The artist contracted to paint both pictures for 500 crowns; but before completing the second compartment of the last great work, death interrupted his labours.<sup>1</sup> The greater part of the pictures thus recorded being still in existence, I am not only enabled to form a deliberate opinion as to the master's style of painting, but also, with this standard, to identify other works by his hand. In his treatment of religious subjects the feeling of devotion which pervades the whole early Netherlandish school is accompanied by the expression of a repose, solemnity, and slight melancholy, which imparts a peculiar charm. In the arrangement of his subject the sense of the picturesque so predominates over that of the symmetrical as often to give an arbitrary and scattered look to his compositions. At the same time separate actions have generally something angular and stiff, which shows itself especially in the position of the legs; the proportions are also often too long and meagre, the legs again being particularly in fault, and the forms too slender. On the other hand, the character of the heads is very various, of much animation and individuality, generally full of meaning, and occasionally displaying a delicate feeling for beauty. The drawing is very able, and the hands always in good action. In point of drapery no painter of this school is so exempt from the angularity of folds peculiar to Jan van Eyck. His distinctive merits, however, consist in his colouring, in his landscape backgrounds, and in the style of their execution. For depth, power, and fulness of colouring, no other painter in the whole school can indeed be compared with him. His red and green draperies, for instance, are so melting and transparent as only to be likened to garnets and emeralds. This effect in the green extends even to the trees and plants

<sup>1</sup> Regarding his death, and also the price awarded to the unfinished work by Hugo van der Goes, see the same work by E. van Even, p. 14. See also the passage describing these pictures in the *Louvain Annals*, 'Early Flemish Painters,' 1st ed. p. 291.



of his landscape backgrounds, which, in their greater softness and depth of tone, and slightly more developed aërial perspective, assign to him the highest place among his compeers. It is possible that the example of his father, who is supposed to have been an excellent painter, may have influenced him. We know for certain that a picture by Dierick, representing events from the life of St. Bavon, was, as late as 1609, in the possession of a Mr. T. Blin, at Haarlem. Here the environs of the city were given with such detail, that even a well-known hollow tree then existing could be identified.<sup>1</sup> Finally, in the treatment of the whole picture he displays a breadth and softness, compared with which the works of [such a great master as] Roger van der Weyden the elder, appear—namely, in the execution of rich stuffs—to be somewhat hard and meagre. The number of works attributed to Stuerbout are by no means inconsiderable. My limits, however, only allow me to mention those most characteristic of the master, and also most accessible to the reader.

His probably earliest production known to me are two small wings containing eight events from the legend of St. Ursula, in the chapel of the convent *des Sœurs Noires* at Bruges, and there wrongly given to Memling. The exterior of the wings, with the four Evangelists, the four Fathers of the Church, and the Annunciation, in chiaroscuro, are well deserving notice. Next in period may be taken two works belonging to a larger altarpiece. One of these, representing Judas and his troop taking our Lord, is in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 58. The composition is rich and animated, but the meagreness of the forms, angularity of the motives, and a certain hardness of outline, assign it to the earlier period of the painter. At the same time his admirable individuality of heads is already pronounced in this work, also the variety of his flesh-tones, and the power and depth of his colouring. The other—the Ascension—wrongly attributed to Memling, is in the chapel of St. Maurice at Nuremberg

<sup>1</sup> The description of this picture is found in a note to the French translation of Guicciardini's 'Account of the Netherlands,' published in Amsterdam, in 1609, by Pieter van Berge. See Edward van Even, p. 29, etc.

No. 23. The dignity expressed in the head of the Saviour is an attractive feature, but the piece is otherwise too much restored.

To these pictures probably succeeds, in point of time, his smaller altarpiece in the Cathedral of Bruges: the centre containing the Martyrdom of St. Hippolitus, who is torn to pieces by four horses; and the wing, the King by whom the Saint was condemned, with four other figures, and the now partly obliterated portrait of a man and his wife, the founders of the picture. The expression of grief in the Saint is very elevated; the flesh of a brownish tone, and well modelled. But the horses, considering the time, are the most remarkable portion, being well formed, and of much vivacity of action. The landscape background already bears witness to his peculiar excellence in that line. The centre picture has been unfortunately much retouched.

In close approximation to this last work is the small altarpiece, with the Martyrdom of St. Erasmus, already alluded to, in St. Peter's at Louvain, and which was probably executed in 1463 or 1464. The drawing of the Saint's body shows an evident improvement upon the last picture. The disagreeable effect of the peculiar martyrdom of this Saint, whose bowels were wound out upon a windlass, is much diminished, though somewhat at the expense of the truth usually observed by the school in such scenes, by the absence of blood, and of all distortion of the features. Some of the heads are less warm and clear than usual, but the modelling is throughout excellent. The drapery of St. Jerome, in the wing, may be considered, in cast, colouring, and making out, one of the most beautiful efforts of the whole school. The landscape of the background is one of the finest examples of the master's hand.

Immediately following may be placed the larger altarpiece, completed in 1467, which is in the same church at Louvain. and the centre of which represents the Last Supper. In every portion of this work the painter appears at the very zenith of his art. The figures of Christ and his Disciples are distributed with great artistic judgment round a quadrangular table, and exhibit an admirable variety in action,

character, and expression. The noble head of the Saviour forms a striking contrast to that of Judas, which is distinguished by its jet black hair and malignant expression. I had on former occasions conjectured the head of one of the subordinate figures to be the portrait of the painter. Herr van Even, who is of the same opinion, has, in a well known pamphlet, given an outline from a tracing of the head, which is that of an elderly man of fine features, but rather morose expression. The wings to this picture are not less fine. Two of them, Abraham and Melchisedec, and the Gathering of the Manna, are in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, Nos. 55 and 44; two others, Elijah in the Wilderness fed by an Angel, and the first celebration of the Passover, in the Berlin Museum, Nos. 533 and 539. The Gathering of the Manna has suffered much by fresh glazings, but it has, in common with the fourth-mentioned subject, a very beautiful landscape.

The two pictures from the legend of the Emperor Otho, though the largest and the latest by the master (executed 1468), are by no means the most satisfactory of his works. The angular movements, over-long proportions, and meagre limbs—in short, the weak points of the painter—are much more conspicuously seen in figures the size of life than in his smaller productions. At the same time, the vivacity of the heads, the warm and vigorous colouring, though here and there defaced by cleaning, and the thorough execution, suffice to give these pictures no inconsiderable value as works of art.

[It is necessary to bear in mind that Dierick Bouts was a contemporary of HUBERT STUERBOUT, a painter at Louvain, whose name appears in the civic accounts from 1439 to 1468. Hubert had a large family of sons, many of whom were also painters.]<sup>1</sup>

ROGER VAN DER WEYDEN the younger was the son and scholar of the elder Roger.<sup>2</sup> But beyond this we know nothing more than that he earned much by his art, was very benevolent, and that he died in Brussels in 1529, at a great

<sup>1</sup> [See Van Even's *Louvain Monumental*.]

<sup>2</sup> Sandrart distinctly says this ('*Teutsche Academie*,' p. 66) in his notice on oil-painting.

age, of the so-called English sweating sickness.<sup>1</sup> He adhered throughout to the style of his father, to whom, in his earlier works, he approaches very near. Later, however, his proportions are not so long, his forms fuller, and his drawing more delicate. This applies especially to his hands and feet. On the other hand, he has little feeling for beauty, and, while his motives are occasionally the reverse of beautiful, his heads are frequently of a portrait-like and tasteless character. In general, he shows greater softness of outline, his flesh-tones are lighter and more broken, his lights of a cooler red, his shadows clearer, and his treatment, finally, broader. He appears especially to have devoted himself to the representation of the sufferings of Christ, and to the sorrow of the Virgin and the Disciples; almost every picture that is with any probability assigned to him belonging to this class of subject. His mode of conception must have been very congenial to the religious feeling of his period, for old copies of his works abound.

His principal work is one originally executed for the church of our Lady "Darbuyten," at Louvain, now in the Sacristy of S. Lorenzo of the Escorial—a Descent from the Cross, consisting of ten life-sized figures.<sup>2</sup> The Virgin has fainted at the right of the body of Christ, which is supported by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, and is upheld herself by one of the Maries and by St. John. At the feet of Christ, in passionate but ungraceful gestures, is the Magdalen. Behind the group of the Virgin is another woman weeping and covering her face with a cloth. The animation and

<sup>1</sup> Van Mander, plate 129 b. f. Because Van Mander in some respects confounds him with his father, Wauters, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle after him, deny his existence. With these opinions I cannot agree. See my reasons in 'Kunstblatt' of 1847, p. 170, etc. Passavant also (see above-mentioned work, p. 134, etc.), and Hotho, are of my opinion.

<sup>2</sup> As I have not seen this picture myself, I adopt Passavant's description (see as before). I was, however, at one time inclined to agree with Wauters, who assigns this to the father (see p. 171), an opinion shared by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (p. 185, etc.), who think that the specimen in the Gallery at Madrid is the original. [Crowe and Cavalcaselle never considered that the Descent from the Cross at the Escorial was by the "elder" Van der Weyden. On the contrary, they say expressly ['Early Flemish Painters,' 1st ed., p. 186; 2nd ed., p. 197] that it is by a pupil of that master, and that pupil is probably Dierick Bouts.]

highly-wrought pathos, the careful drawing of every portion, and especially of the Saviour's body, and that of the hands, have at all times rendered this picture the object of great admiration. Two of the contemporary repetitions of the picture are also by the painter; one in the Madrid Gallery, No. 1046,<sup>1</sup> the other, dated 1488, in the Berlin Museum, No. 534.

Of the other works in Spain attributed by Passavant to him,<sup>2</sup> I only cite a small Crucifixion in the Gallery at Madrid, with the false monogram of Albert Durer.

<sup>3</sup> The Descent from the Cross, a small altarpiece, with wings, in the Liverpool Institution, No. 42,<sup>3</sup> is of the earlier time of the master, still hard in outline, but of great pathos.

Another Descent from the Cross, [formerly] in the collection of the Prince Consort at Kensington, No. 36. The great warmth of colour, and the stricter carrying out, are again proofs of his early time.

An Ecce Homo, and a Mater Dolorosa, both [at one time] at Kensington; half-length figures; the Virgin of elevated and intense feeling.<sup>4</sup>

An Ecce Homo, in the collection of Mr. Green, of Hadley, near Barnet, very like the foregoing.

An Entombment, once in the collection of Sir Culling Eardley, at Belvedere, near Erith, of his earlier time. Of great energy of feeling and colour.<sup>5</sup>

A Descent from the Cross, in the Royal Gallery at Naples; a very rich and beautiful composition, purchased about twenty years ago.

The head of a Woman weeping, in the Gallery at Brussels, of much truth and depth of expression.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Christliche Kunst in Spanien,' p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> 'Treasures of Art,' etc., vol. iii. p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> 'Treasures,' etc., vol. iv. p. 226, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 278.

<sup>6</sup> [Dr. Waagen, mindless of criticism which denies that there exists any proof of the authorship of Roger van der Weyden the younger in any extant picture, clung to his opinion with great persistency. He was at last the only defender of this opinion, which I, amongst others, cannot share.]

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## CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY FLEMISH SCHOOL, UP TO THE PERIOD OF  
ITS TERMINATION.

1490—1530.

[At the period upon which we now enter, Flemish painting still preserved its nationality ; but the forces which had been at work to produce the great masters of the fifteenth century were nearly exhausted. All the vitality that was left was directed into subordinate channels, and art entered upon a phase of absolute decline. At Bruges, where John van Eyck brought landscape to the highest perfection as subsidiary to composition, a new race of craftsmen arose, which clung to the models of its predecessors, and modified their principles of distribution by making figures of less importance than the surrounding distance. At Louvain the same process of change led to the creation of a school of realistic expression. In this way Gheerardt David of Bruges, and Quentin Massys of Louvain, acquired positive importance in history ; the first because he was the leader of the movement which gave prominence to Patenier and De Bles, the second because he led in the introduction of those homely caricatures which degenerated into the low, yet not untalented form of Jan Steen.]

[GHEERARDT DAVID was born at Oudewater, between Utrecht and Rotterdam, and wandered to Bruges, where he took the freedom of the Painters' Guild in January, 1484. He was fourth "*vinder*" of the Guild : first "*vinder*" in 1495 and 1498, and president or "*dean*" in 1501-2. He died on the 13th of August, 1523, and was buried in Notre Dame of Bruges. In 1498 he painted the Last Judgment for the magistrates of the city ; in 1507, for Jean des Trompes, the well-known "Baptism of Christ," in the Academy of Bruges ; in 1509, the Virgin and Child with Saints, in the Museum of Rouen, which was presented by the artist himself to the



sisters of the Carmelites of Sion at Bruges. That Joachim Patenier was a direct pupil of Gheerardt is probable; and confirmation of this belief may be found in the fact that when Joachim took the freedom of the Guild of Antwerp, in 1515, the name of "Meester Gheeraet van Brugghe" was inscribed immediately after his, on the register of that corporation.<sup>1</sup> The "Baptism" is a typical piece for those who wish to acquaint themselves with David's manner. The figures are underset and devoid of grace, in shape and face reminiscent of Van Eyck and Memling; but without the manly strength of the first or the delicate feeling of the second. In the variegated tones of the dresses harsh and inharmonious contrasts vex the eye; but the surface is burnished, spotless, and clean, and modelled with such polish that the touch is not to be distinguished in any part. To the frigid metallic brilliancy thus created additional coldness is imparted by a bright landscape of trees and ground, the detail and minutiae of which are given as if the air was saturated with moisture, and invisible to the eye. Foliage is reproduced with due regard to form, and nature is equally consulted in respect of leaf and branching.

In the spirit of this piece is the Madonna with Saints, in the town Museum at Rouen, and a series of pictures in continental galleries, of which a short description is all that can be attempted. The Virgin and Angel Annunciate, in the collection of the Prince of Hohenzollern at Sigmaringen; a marvel of polished finish. The Virgin and Child, St. Catherine, and other female saints in a landscape; a panel of delicate tone, made pallid by removal of glazes, in the collection of Count Arco Valley at Munich. The Crucifixion (No. 573), in the Museum of Berlin; a glossy, gaudy, but wonderfully minute panel, of enamel surface. A Nativity, in the National Gallery at Madrid. An Epiphany (No. 45), at Munich, and almost a replica of the same (No. 634), in the gallery of Brussels. A Tree of Jesse, once in the Culling Eardley collection at Erith. The Marriage of Cana (No. 596), at the Louvre, formerly in St. Basile at Bruges.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See De Liggeren, i. 83.]

<sup>2</sup> [For David's life and works, consult Le Beffroi, Weale in vol. xx. of the 'Gazette des Beaux Arts,' and 'Early Flemish Painters.'

[QUENTIN MASSYS was born at Louvain in 1466, and brought up by his father, who was a locksmith. Being the younger of two sons, the elder of whom, Josse Massys, had elected to follow the profession of a smith, clockmaker, and architect, he took lessons in painting from a master at Louvain, whom we may suppose to be Dierick Bouts, and in course of years became a painter of name. In 1497 he changed his residence, and settled at Antwerp, having joined the Painters' Guild in 1491. We may judge of the fairness of his repute from the fact that he was employed in 1509 to paint a large altarpiece for a chapel in St. Pierre of Louvain, and in 1517 to take the likenesses of Erasmus and Egidius, which were presented by the former to Sir Thomas More. Erasmus was acquainted with all the painters of his time, and particularly with Holbein and Dürer. He may have induced the latter to pay Massys the visit which we find noted in the Dürer Diary of 1520. Quentin died before Christmas, 1530.]<sup>1</sup>

The style of Massys marks, popularly speaking, the close of the last and the beginning of the next period. A number of pictures, representing sacred subjects, exhibit, with little feeling for beauty of forms, such delicacy of features and earnestness of expression, tenderness and clearness of colouring, and skilfulness of careful finish, as worthily recall the religious spirit of the middle ages, though at the very termination of them. In his draperies also we observe a tenderly broken tone, of the utmost charm, peculiar to himself. At the same time, in the subordinate figures introduced into sacred subjects, such as the executioners, etc., he takes pleasure in rendering coarse and tasteless caricatures. In subjects also taken from common life, such as money-changers, occasionally a loving couple, or a weazened old woman, he uses his brush with evident zest, and with great success. The pictures of his later time are also in this respect distinguished from those of most other Netherlandish painters, inasmuch as his figures are three-quarter life size, or full life

<sup>1</sup> [Consult E. van Even's *Louvain Monumental*; the same author in *Le Beffroi*, ii. 74; A. Woltmann and G. Kinkel, in '*Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*,' i. 198—202, and iv. 197; Wornum, in Kinkel, u.s., the catalogue of the Antwerp Gallery for 1857, and De Liggeren, i. p. 43.]

size. His most important work is an altarpiece, painted originally for the Joiners' Guild as an ornament of their chapel in the Cathedral,<sup>1</sup> but now in the Museum of Antwerp, Nos. 245-49, which he undertook in the year 1508. The centre represents the Body of Christ after the descent from the Cross, mourned over by his friends and the holy women: the Virgin, sunk in the deepest grief, is supported by John; two venerable old men, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, sustain the head and the upper part of the body, whilst the holy women anoint the wounds of the Saviour. The figures are nearly the size of life, and so arranged that each appears distinct and significant. On the right wing, the head of John the Baptist is placed on the table of Herod, whilst musicians—absurd and disagreeable figures—play on an elevated platform. On the left wing is John the Evangelist in the caldron of boiling oil, and the executioners, who, with brutal jests, stir up the fire whilst the spectators are disputing. This picture is highly finished in execution, full of reality, and profound in the development of individual character. In the mourning figures of the centre division a fine pathetic feeling is expressed in all its various degrees.

The altarpiece in St. Peter's, at Louvain (in a side chapel of the choir), represents the Virgin with the Child, and the holy personages of her family; on the side wings are scenes from the life of her parents. [It is an important work, inscribed: "Quinte Metsys screef dees, a°. 1509."

More interesting still is the portrait of Egidius, at Longford Castle; a noble likeness, framed together with that of Erasmus by Holbein.]<sup>2</sup>

A picture in the Berlin Museum, in which the Virgin is seated on a throne kissing the infant Christ. In front, on a small table, are articles of food, well painted, No. 561. This

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Journey in Flanders*, Works, vol. ii. p. 288, who says, "There are heads in this picture not exceeded by Raphael, and indeed not unlike his manner of painting portraits: hard and minutely finished. The head of Herod, and that of a fat man, near the Christ, are excellent."

<sup>2</sup> [Egidius and Erasmus, at Longford, were considered in Dr. Waagen's time to be by Holbein. Otto Mündler and others subsequently expressed the opinion that they were by Massys. Now it is agreed that the Egidius is by Massys, the Erasmus by Holbein.]

already indicates a reference to earthly wants, which, like the more animated movement of the whole picture, would have been opposed to the feelings of the older masters ; but the workmanship of the throne, particularly the agate pillars, and their embossed capitals of gold, is executed entirely in the serious style of earlier art. [A valuable picture in the same feeling is the *Virgin and Child* (No. 237), in the Museum of Amsterdam.]

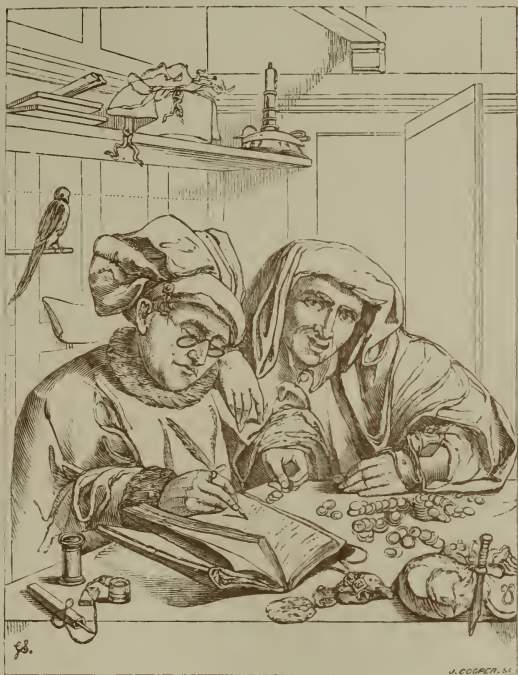
Among the most original and attractive pieces by Massys are the half-length pictures of *Christ and the Virgin*. These must have been very popular in his own time, for he has left several repetitions of them. Two heads, of this class, of marvellous delicacy of feeling, colouring, and expression, are in the Museum at Antwerp, Nos. 241 and 242. Two others, of equal beauty, only that the *Christ* is somewhat heavier in tone, have passed from the collection of the King of Holland into the National Gallery No. 295. Considering the rarity of his pictures representing this class of religious subjects, I may cite a *Virgin and Child* of his earlier period, in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Russell, Greenhithe, Kent ; a *Mater Dolorosa*, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Heath, Enfield ; and a *Virgin and Child adored by SS. Catherine and Margaret*, a picture of the rarest delicacy, once in the possession of Alexander Barker, Esq., and erroneously designated as an *Albert Durer*.<sup>1</sup>

The most celebrated of his subject-pictures is that known by the name of the *Two Misers*, at Windsor Castle, of which a woodcut is subjoined. But I am not disposed to consider this example, or others I know of the same composition, as the originals, but rather as repetitions, and chiefly by his son, Jan Massys.<sup>2</sup> A genuine and signed picture of this class is that of a *Changer of Money weighing gold*, of the utmost delicacy, in the Louvre, No. 279.<sup>3</sup> [Signed : “*Quintin Matsijs schildt, 1518.*” There are other pieces of this class which

<sup>1</sup> Regarding other and chiefly earlier works, see my notice in the ‘*Kunstsblatt*’ of 1847, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> A close examination in the Manchester Exhibition, in 1857, convinced me of this fact.

<sup>3</sup> I have become convinced of the genuineness of this picture, in contradiction to my formerly-expressed opinion, ‘*Künstler und Kunstwerke in Paris*,’ p. 544.



THE MISERS.

A Painting by Quentin Massys at Windsor Castle.

page 116.





it may be of interest to note, viz. : a Lucretia, in the Belvedere at Vienna, and a replica, in the Rothschild collection in Paris. Interesting in addition are the portraits of Massys and his wife and a St. Jerom, in the Uffizi at Florence.]

[The "double" of Quentin Massys, MARINUS DE SEEW, of Romerswalen, can only be mentioned here. He was a countryman of Mabuse, and lived chiefly in Zeeland, his speciality was the painting of money-changers and shopkeepers, in bright and pastose colours. The most accessible pictures of this scarce master with which I am acquainted are these : An Agent at his desk, with people attending to pay rent, inscribed, "Marin. im. fecit, a°. 1542;" and a Changer with his wife weighing gold, signed, "Rogmerswalen, Marinus me fecit, a°. 38," in the Munich Gallery. A replica of the last, with the inscription, "Marinus me fecit, anno 1541," in the Dresden Gallery. The same subject, ascribed to Quentin Massys, in the Antwerp Museum. The same again, dated 1538, is in the Madrid Museum, together with a St. Jerom, dated 1521, and a Customs Officer, in the Gallery of Copenhagen.]<sup>1</sup>

[The field over which the annals of Flemish Netherlandish art extends now becomes greatly enlarged. Whilst David illustrates Bruges, and Massys Antwerp, numerous artists attract attention at Haarlem, Maubeuge, Leyden, Dinant, and Bouvines.]

JAN MOSTAERT, born at Haarlem 1474; died in the same place in 1555 or 56. [The earliest notice of his employment on works of painting is a contract in which he engages to execute the wings of an altarpiece on which St. Bavon and twelve episodes of his life were to be placed. These pictures were ordered for St. Bavon of Haarlem in 1500. The latest record which refers to the artist is a petition addressed to the burgomaster of Haarlem, asking permission for Mostaert to leave the city to work at an altarpiece in the church of Hoorn. The petition is dated

<sup>1</sup> [See Van Mander, 178, and Guicciardini's Low Countries. A replica of the St. Jerom, inscribed, "Opus Marini de Rogmerswale, a. 1535," is in the Acad. of S. Fernando at Madrid. See Dr. H. Lücke in Zahn's Jahrbücher, v. 226.]

1549.<sup>1</sup> Mostaert was painter-in-ordinary to Margaret of Austria for eighteen years.] In style of feeling and in development of landscape this painter shows a close affinity to the masters of Bruges. Besides treating subjects of a religious order with an elevation and purity of feeling remarkable at so late a period, he was also, according to the evidence of Van Mander, a very popular portrait-painter. The only authenticated pictures also by him are two portraits, distinguished by warmth and clearness of tone, and a certain softness in the careful treatment, which are in the Museum at Antwerp.<sup>2</sup> Another picture by him, in the same gallery, No. 262, represents the Virgin and Child, surrounded by four angels, three prophets, and two sibyls—the latter with scrolls, on which are inscribed their prophecies regarding the Incarnation. The features are pleasing, though generally portrait-like. As the most important work, in my opinion, by the master, I may mention a Virgin—represented as the Mater Dolorosa—in the church of Notre Dame at Bruges. Of the pictures by him in England I will only instance the Entombment, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Heath, at Enfield.

[JAN OR JANNYN GOSSART of Maubeuge<sup>3</sup> is the first of the Flemings whose style was seriously modified by a journey to Italy. He was the earliest of that numerous class of artists “who transferred to Flanders the habit, then peculiar to the Italians, of painting nudities.”<sup>4</sup> The date of his birth is unknown; equally so that of his master; but he was admitted into the Guild of Antwerp in 1503; and he practised at Antwerp till 1507,<sup>5</sup> After 1508, and before 1513, he visited Rome in the suite of Philip, natural son of Philip the Good, who successively filled the offices of high admiral in Zeeland and (1516) bishop at Utrecht. Till the

<sup>1</sup> [See Van der Willigen's ‘*Artistes de Harlem*,’ 8vo. Harlem, 1870, p. 228.]

<sup>2</sup> Judging from the armorial bearings upon them, these two portraits were erroneously taken for those of Jacqueline of Bavaria, died 1436; and of her husband, F. van Borselen, died 1470.

<sup>3</sup> [“Johannes Malbodius,” he signs himself; and he is registered in the Antwerp Guild as Jannyn van Hennegeuwe (Hainaut).]

<sup>4</sup> [Van Mander, ed. of 1618, p. 146 retro.]

<sup>5</sup> [De Liggeren, Part i., pp. 58, 63, 66.]

death of Philip, in 1524, Mabuse remained in the service of his princely protector, the colleague and associate for a time of a Venetian, named Jacopo de Barbaris, who grafted the style of Memling on that of the Bellini, in the same way as Mabuse engrafted the manner of Filippino Lippi on that of Quentin Massys.<sup>1</sup> So long as this patronage lasted the painter prospered. He was known as "peintre de l'amiral;" he painted for Christian II. of Denmark his dwarfs and his children; he made likenesses of royal personages for Charles the Fifth,<sup>2</sup> and restored the pictures of Margaret of Austria at Malines. He died at Antwerp on the 1st of October, 1532.<sup>3</sup>

This painter, up to the period of his departure for Italy, belongs to the style of the later Van Eyck school. Till then he was unquestionably one of the first painters of the Netherlands, displaying great knowledge of composition, able drawing, warm colouring, an unusual mastery in the management of the brush, and a solidity in the carrying out of every portion such as few of his contemporaries attained. His only deficiency consists sometimes in a certain coldness of religious feeling. His principal picture belonging to this period, and one inscribed with his name, is an Adoration of the Kings, at Castle Howard, the seat of the Earl of Carlisle; a rich composition, of considerable size, and admirable preservation. Next to this may be placed a picture representing the legend of the Count of Toulouse, who journeyed as a pilgrim to Jerusalem. The event is represented with the utmost truth. Now in the possession of Sir John Nelthorpe, at his seat, Scawby, Lincolnshire. Finally, two pictures in the Antwerp Museum—the Virgin lamenting, with St. John, and other women, and the righteous judges, a group of horsemen.

[A fine triptych in the Brussels Museum, of Christ in the

<sup>1</sup> [Consult 'Germanicorum rerum Scriptores,' fol. (Frankfort, 1611); W. Hedøe, Hist. Episc. Ultraject, and Chronic. Johannis de Beka.]

<sup>2</sup> [See George Scharf's Royal Picture Galleries in 'History of Old London,' p. 288, and his exhaustive statement in vol. xxxix of the 'Archæologia.' There are several replicas of the picture in various collections.]

<sup>3</sup> [Pinchart, Annot., p. 319, and the same in 'Archives des Arts,' i. 181.]

house of Simeon, displays the style acquired abroad by Mabuse, but of this period it will be necessary to speak at more length in a subsequent chapter.]<sup>1</sup>

[JEAN BELLEGAMBE of Douai, a contemporary of Mabuse, whose style oscillates between that of Gossart and the disciples of Roger van der Weyden, is mentioned by Guicciardini and Vasari. His great altarpiece, originally placed (1511—1519) on the high altar of the abbey church of Anchin, is now in the sacristy of Notre Dame at Douai, and is well worthy of a visit. It represents the Trinity, between the Virgin and the Baptist, and a whole court of Saints. On the outer wings are portraits of the Abbot Charles Cokin, attended by St. Charlemagne; of the prior, supported by St. Benedict; and of numerous monks, all of them, as it were, witnesses of the adoration of the cross by Christ and the Virgin Mary.]<sup>2</sup>

CORNELIS ENGELBRECHTSEN, born at Leyden 1468; died 1533. His only authenticated work is an altarpiece in the Town Hall at Leyden: the centre picture representing the Crucifixion; the wings, the Sacrifice of Abraham, and the Brazen Serpent, in their well-known symbolic meaning; and the Predella, the Restoration of the race of Adam by the Atonement of Christ. In this picture the master departs much from the painters preceding him. The heads of his women, of a longish oval form, and with straight, pointed noses, have a pleasing but monotonous type. The flesh-tones are of a warm brown colour, but heavy, the outlines hard, the effects crude, and the drawing moderate.

In Bruges the style of religious expression in art was preserved in the early Netherlandish form even up to the end of the sixteenth century, though with greatly inferior feeling and skill, by various masters. The most considerable painter of this class is PETER CLAEISSENS, by whom is a large work, dated 1608, representing the Virgin and Child, the Almighty

<sup>1</sup> See chap. i. of Book iv.

<sup>2</sup> [Vasari, u.s. xiii. 151. Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, p. 143. A. Wauters, 'Jean Bellegambe de Douai,' 8vo., Brux. 1861. This picture was usually assigned to Memling. See Viardot's 'Musees de Belgique,' 8vo., Paris, 1855, and M. Escallier's 'Abbaye d'Anchin.']

with angels, and the founder, in the Hospital of the Poterie at Bruges.

[HIERONYMUS VAN AEKEN, commonly known as Jerom Bosch, was born about 1460, at Herzogenbusch, where he died in 1516.<sup>1</sup>] He distorted the fantastic element which already existed in the school into a form of the ghostly and demoniacal, in which he showed great talent. A Last Judgment by him is in the [Academy at Vienna]; a Temptation of St. Anthony, in the Antwerp Museum, No. 25. [There are numerous pictures by Bosch in the Madrid Museum, some of them careful, and finished to such an extent as to suggest that but for the fantastic element which dwelt in the painter he might have been a worthy rival of Hans Memling. The gloomy character of his works is indeed frequently lost in the grotesqueness of an exaggerated fancy; but Philip II. of Spain found a peculiar delight in this curious mixture, and had one of Van Aeken's altarpieces in his oratory.] He adopted the early technical process, and his execution was sharp and careful.

LUC JACOBSZ, called LUCAS VAN LEYDEN, born 1494; died 1533. Scholar of Engelbrechtsen, an artist of multifarious powers and very early development. He painted admirably,<sup>2</sup> drew, and engraved. He followed that realistic tendency in the treatment of sacred subjects which Hubert van Eyck had so grandly tracked, and lowered it greatly from its previous elevation. His heads, for instance, are generally of very ugly character. At the same time his form of art found sympathy in the feeling of the period; and by the skill with which it was expressed, especially in his engravings, attracted a number of followers. In scenes from common life he is frequently full of truth and delicate observation of nature, showing occasionally a coarse humour. Pictures by him are very rare. One of the most important, at least in size, though not a pleasing specimen, is a Last Judgment, in the

<sup>1</sup> [See A. Pinchart's notices in 'Archives des Arts,' i. 268, and Dr. Julius Meyer's 'Künstr. Lexikon.']

<sup>2</sup> [It cannot be said with truth that he painted admirably. His picture at Wilton House shows that he was an imitator of Massys, that of 1522 at Munich proves that he was then an imitator of Mabuse.]



Town House at Leyden. The old arrangement is adopted in this picture: in the centre is the Judgment itself, and on the wings Heaven and Hell; the composition is strikingly poor and scattered; the expression of heavenly joy singularly flat and weak: in the figures of those risen from the dead there is little more than a careful study of the nude. It is only in a few instances, and those chiefly in the representation of Hell, that the figures or heads have any striking expression. On the contrary, two figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the outside of the wings, have great dignity, both in attitude and drapery. A small and interesting picture, a company of men and women at a card-table, see woodcut, is in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton House; the outline is spirited, but rather sharp. 'A beautiful and finely-painted work, of the year 1522, forms part of the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 151. [It was produced at the time of Albert Dürer's visit to the Netherlands, and when Lucas was living free of the Guild at Antwerp.]<sup>1</sup> The composition consists of the Virgin and Child, with Mary Magdalen, and a man praying at their side. Both the style and the activity of this artist are far better estimated by his numerous engravings, of which Bartsch cites no fewer than 174,<sup>2</sup> some of which show considerable power. The following are some of the most remarkable: Esther and Ahasuerus, No. 31; the Adoration of the Kings, No. 37; Christ shown to the People, No. 71; the Crucifixion, No. 74; the Return of the Prodigal Son, No. 78; the Dance of the Magdalen, see woodcut, No. 122; and the Milkmaid, No. 158. The "Eulenspiegel," No. 159, is more celebrated for its great rarity than for its artistic merits. The Temptation of St. Anthony, No. 117, see woodcut, is remarkable as the work of a boy of fifteen.<sup>3</sup>

[JOACHIM PATENIER of Dinant or Bouvignes, though he was

<sup>1</sup> [At Antwerp, no doubt, Lucas formed his pictorial style. Here he had occasion to know Massys. He was just fresh from Middelburg, where he had kept company with Mabuse. See Campe's 'Reliquien,' p. 136. Van Mander, u.s. 136, retro., and De Liggeren, i. 99.]

<sup>2</sup> 'Le Peintre Graveur,' vol. vii. p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> [Admirable as a specimen of portrait is Lucas's portrait of himself, in the edition of Van Mander, published in 1618.]





A CARD PARTY.

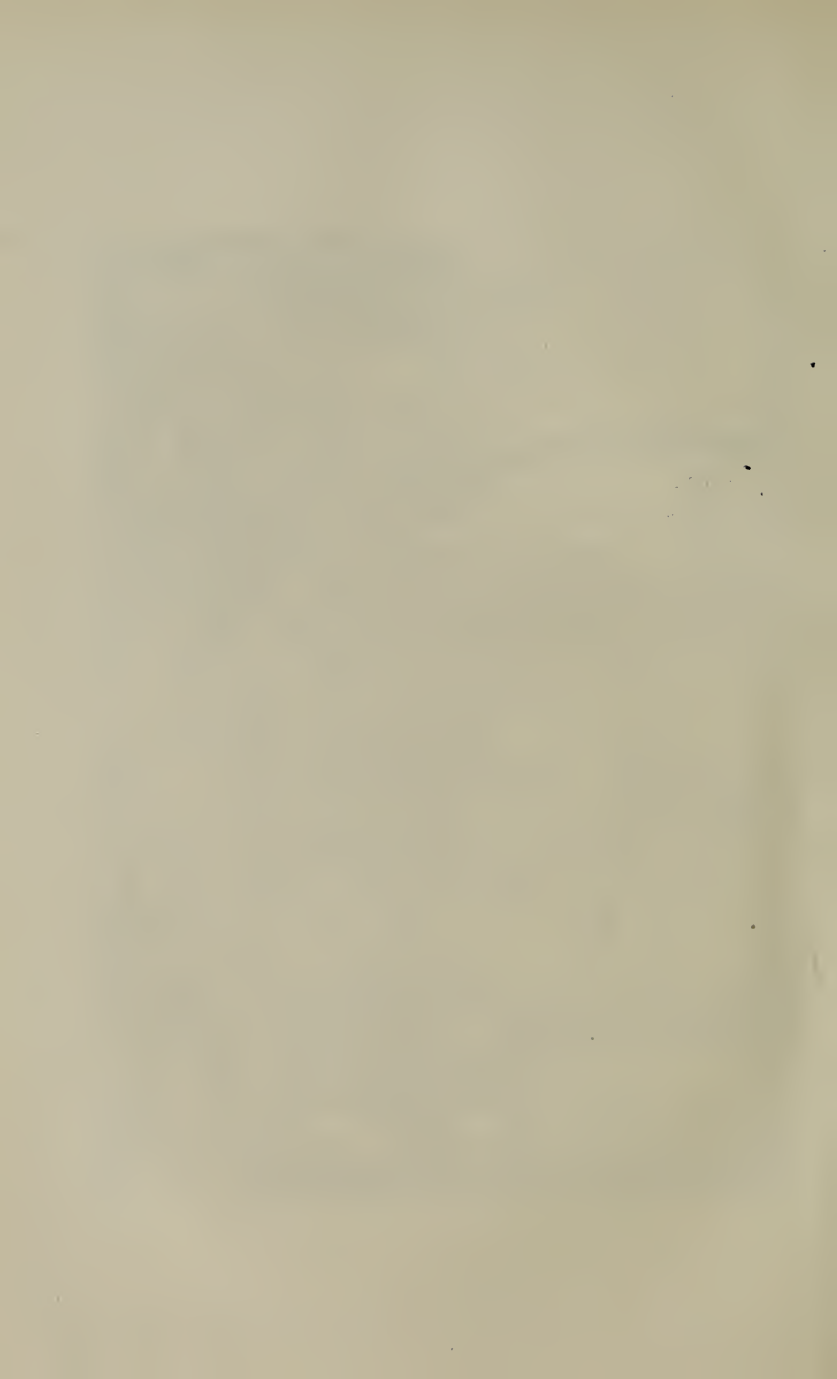
By Lucas van Leyden. At Wilton House.

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"THE DANCE OF THE MAGDALEN." From an Engraving by Lucas van Leyden in the British Museum.





From an Engraving by Lucas van Leyden  
in the British Museum

page 142, No. 3.





not apprenticed at Antwerp, matriculated in the guild of that city in 1515, having previously served, as we may believe, under Gheerardt David at Bruges. In the short space of eight years he was widowed and left a widow. Albert Dürer was present at his second marriage in 1521; two of his children were left at his death (1524) under the guardianship of Quentin Massys. Joachim became justly celebrated as a painter, unjustly as a toper; for it can be shown that Van Mander was in error when he told how Patenier in his drunken fits ill-treated Franz Mostaert. Franz was perhaps the pupil of Henry Patenier, who was free of the Antwerp Guild in 1535. He only joined the guild himself in 1553. Patenier modified the style of Gheerardt David in so far that he intensified the contrast already magnified by David between the breadth of distance and the proportions of figures. He painted gospel subjects in which the *dramatis personæ* were subordinate to wide expanses of landscape, derived, as Van Lokeren truly observes, from the grand broken scenery of the valley of the Meuse or the district of Ardennes.<sup>1</sup> In some pieces he was fanciful, after the fashion of Jerom Bosch. The most striking peculiarities of his style are stiffness in figures and drapery, and minute detail in distances, unrelieved by play of light and shade. Atmosphere and linear perspective are both wanting, and so the decline of Flemish art from the standard of the Van Eycks is very apparent. At Madrid, where there are six of his masterpieces, the Temptation of St. Anthony is a lively example of the painter's fantastic style, whilst the "Rest of the Virgin during the Flight into Egypt" illustrates the quieter form of the master. Another large landscape in the same collection represents the Styx, across which Charon is taking the souls of the departed. The first of these examples is repeated in a smaller form in the Museum of Berlin.]

As an example of Patenier's earlier style as historical painter, I may mention the Virgin with the Seven Sorrows, holding the stiff and meagre body of the Saviour on her lap,

<sup>1</sup> [See De Liggeren, i. 83, 124; Pinchart, Annot. cclxxxiii.; Campe's 'Reliquien,' 82, 119, 125, 126; and A. van Lokeren in 'Messager des Sciences,' anno 1845, pp. 403—407.]

No. 28, in the Museum at Brussels. His Flight into Egypt, in the Museum at Antwerp, No. 64; and his Crucifixion, executed at a later time, [in the National Gallery, No. 715], exhibit him more as a landscape painter.

[*HERRI DE BLES* may be identical with *Herri de Patenier*, who took the freedom of the Guild of Antwerp in 1535.<sup>1</sup> His treatment of landscape is that of a follower of *Joachim Patenier*. His conception of form and treatment of flesh recall *Mabuse*. The dates usually assigned to his birth and death, 1480 and 1550, are not to be relied upon. It is possible to distinguish amongst the pictures attributable to *De Bles* (they are all authenticated by the owl) a later and an earlier period. In the latter he is careful enough, in the former the human shape assumes an exaggerated type of slenderness and mannered action. The colouring is usually grey, but his late examples verge to a cold and unpleasant dun. *Van Mander* describes a picture of a pedlar whose store has been plundered by monkeys as a characteristic work of the master. This picture is now in the Museum of Dresden.] A male portrait, with landscape background, in the Museum at Berlin, No. 624, is of his earlier time. A Crucifixion (No. 718, in the National Gallery) is a particularly good work of his middle period. An Adoration of the Kings, signed with his name, in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 91, belongs to his latest productions.

All these masters, from *Quentin Massys* downward, belong, it is true, in colouring and technical characteristics, and also partially in mode of conception, to the later branches of the *Van Eyck* school: at the same time in many respects they form the transition to the masters of the following epoch.

<sup>1</sup> [Consult *De Liggeren*, i. p. 124.]

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## CHAPTER IV.

THE GERMAN SCHOOL, IN ITS TRANSITION FROM THE STYLE OF  
THE PRECEDING PERIOD TO THE REALISTIC TENDENCY.

1410—1460.

WHILE Art in the Netherlands was carried, by means of the brothers Van Eyck, to a high development of realism, the Germans in all essentials continued to adhere to the style of the former period, only admitting the influence of their neighbours as far as it served to impart greater perfection to their own modes of expression. The same noble type of head, and feeling of spiritual purity, which distinguished their conceptions of the Virgin, and of many of the saints, was retained, and fuller and more natural forms superadded. In some heads, however, a more portrait-like and often-repeated physiognomy was introduced, and one which a thick and large nose rendered by no means beautiful. The proportions of the human figure, which before this epoch were too long, became truer to nature, the separate forms fuller and more correct, and the movements freer. The rendering also of the quality of the draperies—such as gold brocades, velvets, etc.—was introduced ; but, on the other hand, the sharp and angular breaks were but occasionally admitted. Weapons, crowns, and such articles became more individual in character. Neither in colouring nor execution, it is true, was the same power, and truth, and modelling, or the same rendering of minute detail, aimed at as by the Van Eycks ; at the same time their colouring, which shows much feeling for harmony, became more vigorous, their modelling more powerful, and their execution softer than in the preceding period. Least of all did they copy the Netherlandish painters in the close delineation of the backgrounds, but contented themselves with a general indication, retaining the gold ground principally for the sky.

At this time the school of Cologne distinguished itself

before every other in Germany, and attained, in the person of STEPHAN LOCHNER, of Constance, called MEISTER STEPHAN, whose later prime dates from 1442 to 1451 (the year of his death), its highest form of originality. Although there is no proof of his having been a scholar of Meister Wilhelm, yet it is obvious that he formed himself from him. This appears especially in his small Madonna, with the hedge of roses, in the Museum at Cologne, which, in accordance with M. Hotho,<sup>1</sup> I consider the earliest work we know by him. Here much of the form of art and style of feeling belonging to Meister Wilhelm is seen, only combined with greater animation and truth of nature. Next in date to this I place a colossal Virgin and Child, which has been recently discovered and which is now in the collection of the Archbishop of Cologne. This picture shows a rare union of grandeur and mildness of expression. But the most authentic, and at the same time the principal, work of the master is the well-known picture<sup>2</sup> which was originally painted for the chapel of the Hôtel de Ville, but has been for many years in a chapel of the choir of Cologne Cathedral. It consists, as the accompanying woodcut shows, of a centre-piece with wings, on which last, when closed, is seen the Annunciation. In the inside, on the centre picture, is the Adoration of the Kings—the Virgin is seated on a throne, in a dark-blue mantle lined with ermine; at her side are the two elder kings kneeling: the younger one and the attendants stand around. On the side panels are the patrons of the city—on the right St.

<sup>1</sup> 'Malerschule Hubert's van Eyck,' vol. i. p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> That the statement in Albert Dürer's Journal of his having paid two silver pennies for the unlocking of the picture refers to this cathedral picture may be now accepted as certain. In addition to this, M. Merlo (see 'Die Meister der Alt kölnischen Schule,' Köln, 1852) has recently discovered in old registers, of the years 1442 and 1448, the name of a painter, *Stephan Lochner*, of Constance, who owned a house in Cologne; also, in the protocols of the Council-chamber, it appears that the same was twice chosen by his guild as councillor, and that he died in 1451, the last year of his office. It being thus proved that this Stephan Lochner was a painter of great consideration in his time, I quite agree with that profound art-critic, M. Sotzmann (see 'Deutsches Kunstblatt,' 1853, No. 6), that he was identical with the Meister Stephan mentioned by Albert Dürer, and therefore the painter of the cathedral picture.





OTHER SIDE OF THE WING.



ST. URSULA AND HER VIRGINS.



ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

ALTAPIECE, by Stephen Lochin - de Cologne Cathedral



S. MICHAEL AND HIS ANGELS.



S. MICHAEL AND HIS ANGELS.





Gereon, in his armour of gold and surcoat of blue velvet, surrounded by his men-at-arms; on the left St. Ursula, with her escort and her host of virgins.

This picture is remarkable for its solemnity and simple dignity of composition, for the depth and force of tone, and the beauty and harmony of its colour, which, in spite of the usual disadvantages of tempera, here approaches in splendour the effects of Venetian oil-painting. The arrangement of the figures is grand and simple, and the execution of the rich details finished with the greatest care. A feeling of ideal grace and beauty is breathed over the whole work, and is just as conspicuous in the loveliness of the Virgin with the divine Child as in the serene dignity of the kings who worship, and the youthful fulness of form and tenderness of expression in the holy virgins and the knights who accompany them.

Judging from the strong influence of the Van Eyck school seen in this work—from the individuality of many of the heads, the rendering of the materials of the draperies, and the sharp and angular breaks of the folds in the Annunciation—it may be considered to have belonged to the latest and maturest time of the master. This is corroborated by a work in the Darmstadt Museum—the Presentation in the Temple, bearing date 1447—which, although nearly related to the cathedral picture, is less developed in form of art. England also possesses at least one specimen of this rare master, of his somewhat earlier time, representing SS. Catherine, Matthew, and John the Evangelist [No. 705 in the National Gallery].

Among the number of pictures executed in part under the direction of Meister Stephan, and partly under his influence, and which are now distributed principally in the galleries of Cologne and Munich, and in the chapel of St. Maurice at Nuremberg, the compartments of a former altar-picture belonging to the Abbey of Heisterbach, near Bonn, are particularly remarkable. The single figures of saints in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, Nos. 1 and 2, approach nearest in character to Meister Wilhelm; the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and the Adoration of the Kings, Cabinets, Nos. 3,

6, 7, 8, show, on the other hand, in the rounder forms of the heads, and in other respects, the prevailing influence of Meister Stephan. The same may be said of two pictures in the Berlin Museum—the Adoration of the Cross and of the Kings, Nos. 1205 and 1206.

Very characteristic of the course taken by the Cologne school of painters at this time is the altar-picture, the centre-piece of which is the Last Judgment, in the Museum at Cologne.<sup>1</sup> Although the character of Meister Stephan is still somewhat retained in the ideal figures of Christ, the Virgin, John the Baptist, etc., yet the early refinement of religious feeling is wanting in them, and also in the otherwise admirably rendered saints on the wings, in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, Nos. 13 and 14. At the same time, in the figures of those risen from the grave, and especially in those of the condemned, as well as in the accessories, a decidedly realistic feeling prevails. Side by side with the most surprising freedom of action and truth of expression are seen disgusting exaggerations and great coarseness of form and colour. According to the costume worn by the excellently-portrayed founder, the execution of the picture may be assigned to about 1450-60.<sup>2</sup> How long, in some instances, the early tendency was still retained is shown by a Crucifixion, dated 1458, in the Museum at Cologne, and also by a Virgin and Child with two saints, and the numerous family of the founder, dated 1474, in the church of St. Andrew in the same city.

Next in succession to Cologne, the town of Nuremberg, judging from the few specimens preserved, seems to have done most in the way of painting at this period, although not a single name of a master has descended to us. I proceed to mention a few of the most notable pictures. On a pier in the nave of the church of St. Sebaldus is a Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John; on the inner sides of the

<sup>1</sup> I agree with M. Hotho, 'Malerschule Hubert's van Eyck,' vol. i. p. 413, in not attributing this work to Stephan Lothener, as others have done.

<sup>2</sup> [The rest of this altarpiece, representing the martyrdoms of the twelve Apostles, is No. 62, 63, in the Städel collection at Frankfurt.]

wings SS. Barbara and Catherine; on the outer sides Christ on the Mount of Olives, and the portrait of the founder; and on a pair of stationary wings St. Erasmus and another Bishop.

An altarpiece, formerly on the high altar in the church of the Chartreuse, now in the church of our Lady. The centre contains the Crucifixion, the Annunciation, and the Resurrection of Christ; the wings the Nativity and the Apostle Peter. This may be a somewhat later work by the same hand.<sup>1</sup> It shows many features taken from nature, and careful modelling. The master also, who painted an obituary picture—the Nativity—dated 1430, dedicated to the memory of Frau Waldburg Prünsterin, in the church of our Lady at Nuremberg, deserves notice.

An altarpiece, dedicated to St. Theocarus, in the church of St. Lawrence, containing the Transfiguration, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, and four events from the life of the Saint. Though still essentially adhering to the forms of the former epoch, this picture shows a respectable stage of advancement.

Finally, a Virgin and Child in the Sacristy of the church of St. Lawrence, dedicated to Margaretta Imhof (died 1449) and her son, is remarkable for the elevation of conception in the head of the Virgin, for the far advanced individuality of the portraits, and for good modelling in a transparent tone.

It is evident also that in Swabia, at this period, there was a successful effort to combine a more natural treatment of detail with the ecclesiastical forms of conception belonging to the former epoch. This appears especially in an altar-picture, dedicated to the Magdalen, at Tiefenbronn, executed in 1431 by LUCAS MOSER. The wings contain events from the legends of the Magdalen, and also from those of Martha and Lazarus; the predella represents Christ, and the five wise and five foolish Virgins. The modelling in a warm colour of the pleasing heads is

<sup>1</sup> Hotho, vol. i. p. 478, etc.

very careful, and hands and feet are of striking truth of nature.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the neighbouring territory of Alsace, a similar stage of painting is shown by a Bible with miniatures, completed in 1428, and now in the Royal Library at Munich. The portrait of a Bishop, for whom it was executed, is already very individual. One JOHANN FREYBECHK, from the convent of Königsbrück, in Alsace, mentions himself at the close of the MS. as its author; whether he took part in the pictures it contains would be difficult to say.<sup>2</sup>

A large Missal, executed in the years 1447-8, for the Emperor Frederick III., and now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, No. 1767, gives the same evidence as regards the art of painting in Austria.<sup>3</sup>

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE GERMAN SCHOOLS WHICH ADOPTED THE REALISTIC TENDENCY OF THE VAN EYCKS.

1460—1500.

OF the numerous Germans who were induced to wander to Brussels to study under Roger van der Weyden, two—Martin Schongauer and Friedrich Herlen—are known to us by name; but it is probable that these were only the chief of a large band, which, returning to its home after 1460, gave currency to the style of the Flemish master. In various parts of Germany local art was deeply modified by this infusion of new elements, and German painting received quite a new impress from them, but the change was effected on the whole without detriment to the development of peculiar German feeling. Looking at the painters of the latter half of the fifteenth century in the mass, we observe that they were better trained

<sup>1</sup> Hotho, vol. i. p. 460, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See article by me in 'Kunstblatt' of 1850, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 324.

as composers, and preserved, far more than the Flemings, the art of conceiving and distributing figures in a given space. They displayed more cleverness as draughtsmen, and a nobler sense as designers of heads of a higher and more ideal beauty ; whilst in the attempt to contrast the dignified form of sacred personages with the coarser one of common individuals, they fell into caricatures much more repulsive than those of their Flemish brethren. In their arrangement of drapery they preserved and exaggerated the tendency of the Van Eycks to break the folds into angular corners. In many respects they remained far behind their originals : namely, in graceful motion and attitude, their figures being more awkward and lame ; in feeling for colour, their tints being more garish, heavy, or dull ; in light and shade, or distribution, their incapacity for producing effect by a vivid flash of light being very marked. For a long time they kept the habit of gold grounds, or confined themselves to the simplest lines as indications of space. In their treatment they were also defective. Their outlines were harder, their power of rendering detail was slighter. Painting was carried on mechanically so far that the best masters rarely carried out the works entrusted to them with their own hands, confiding, some more, some less, to their assistants. We must ascribe to this cause the startling inequality apparent in pictures authenticated alike by inscriptions and by records. If, however, in the main, all the German schools show the same results of Flemish teaching, the influence of that teaching upon each of them was varied and diverse.

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#### THE SCHOOL OF COLOGNE AND THE LOWER RHINE.

In point of power of colouring and solidity of technical execution, the masters of this part of Germany approach very nearly to the Van Eyck school, though possessing slight peculiarities of their own.

In Cologne we are met by an anonymous painter, who, according to inscriptions on his pictures, flourished from 1463 to 1480, and who, from one of his chefs-d'œuvre, once



in possession of M. Lyversberg of Cologne,<sup>1</sup> representing the Passion in eight compartments, has received the name of the Master of the Lyversberg Passion.<sup>2</sup> It is true that most of the compositions are arbitrary in arrangement, the effect of colour hard, and the figures of the guards of repelling coarseness; but, on the other hand, the head of Christ is dignified, and there is an elevated pathos in many of the other heads. Another altarpiece by the same hand, in the church of Linz on the Rhine, dated 1462, containing scenes from the life of the Virgin, the Passion, and the portrait of the founder, the Canon Tilmann Jael, shows a more advanced stage of art. In some of the pictures, for instance in the Coronation of the Virgin, a more successful general effect is apparent; the Virgin herself also is of a lofty character of physiognomy. In another large altarpiece, at Sinzig on the Rhine, with the Crucifixion as centre piece, he again appears to more advantage. But his best work, as respects composition, beauty, and originality of motives, and animated and truthful heads of striking expression, is a Descent from the Cross, dated 1480, in the Museum of Cologne. (The wings are a later addition.) Of his numerous specimens in the Munich Gallery, an altarpiece with wings [from St. Ursula at Cologne], on which are the Apostles and John the Baptist, the Marriage and Coronation of the Virgin, and Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate, Nos. 21—26, is the most remarkable. On the last-mentioned number appears the animated portrait of the founder of the whole series, an ecclesiastic of the name of Johann de Mechlinn. The master we have been describing had a large number of followers, but one and all so far inferior and more mechanical, that it is not necessary to instance a single example of the many pictures by them in the Cologne Museum and elsewhere. They show a decided degeneration of the school to the close of the fifteenth century.

Another master of merit is Jan Joest, painter of the picture

<sup>1</sup> [Since] the property of Mr. Baumeister, at Cologne.

<sup>2</sup> According to the arbitrary designation given by the Messrs. Boisserée to the works of this master in the gallery at Munich, and in the chapel of St. Maurice at Nuremberg, they continued till quite lately to bear the name of Israel van Meckenem.

on the high altar of the church at Calcar, representing the Death of the Virgin. Joest died at Harlem, 1519.

In the adjacent district of Westphalia a style of art was developed, which, in many respects, succeeded in combining the ideal feeling of the last epoch with the more realistic tendency which succeeded it. The most remarkable specimens of this kind are the relics of a large altarpiece in the former monastery of Liesborn, near Münster, dated 1465, which were long in the possession of M. Krüger at Minden, and some of which are in the National Gallery, Nos. 260 and 261. They consist principally of the half-length figures of six saints, and of the subjects of the Annunciation and Presentation. The heads are attractive for the purity of religious feeling and the expression of peace which pervade them, with which the clear and cheerful colouring is in unison. As regards truth of nature in the rendering of parts, however, they bear no comparison with the contemporary Netherlandish painters. The pictures of a Soest master, who has signed his name as "Jarenius" on a Pietà in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House, show the fusion of the qualities of both schools to less advantage. The centre picture of a large altarpiece by this master, in the Berlin Museum, No. 1222,<sup>1</sup> representing several scenes from the Passion, is especially overladen and confused. The most successful in composition, colour, and execution, are four pictures belonging to one wing of this altarpiece, No. 1233,<sup>1</sup> viz. the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation, and the Adoration of the Kings. At a later period the school of Westphalia takes a lower place than the other schools of Germany; as examples of which I may mention a large altar-picture by the brothers VICTOR and HEINRICH DÜNWEGE, in the parish church of Dortmund, the centre of which contains the Crucifixion, and the inner sides of the wings the Adoration of the Kings, the Virgin and Child, and the Mother of Zebedee's children, with her sons, and other relatives of the Virgin; a subject which is called in Germany "a Holy Kith-and-Kin picture." Although the picture is known to have been painted in 1523, it shows in its gold background, its hard and crude

<sup>1</sup> These are regarded as doubtful, and are not now exhibited.

colouring, and in the style of treatment, quite the form of art belonging to the fifteenth century. At the same time many of the heads are very animated, and of warm and vigorous colour. A Crucifixion nearly related to the above-mentioned pictures, only with a landscape background, is in the Berlin Museum, No. 1194 [now withdrawn].

A similar absence of participation in the progress of the period is betrayed, as regards Lower Saxony, by the painter JOHANN RAPHON VON EIMBECK, by whose hand is an altarpiece, dated 1508, in the choir of Halberstadt Cathedral. The centre represents the Crucifixion—a rather over-crowded composition—the wings, the Annunciation, Adoration of the Shepherds, of the Kings, and the Presentation. The heads are lively and various in character, but at the same time somewhat coarse; the colouring of the flesh rather heavy and untrue, and cold in the lights.

In the department of the Middle Rhine, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, we meet with the painter CONRAD FYOLL, the notices of whom extend from 1461 to 1476.<sup>1</sup> He has something tender and mild in his heads, and a delicate, silvery, and, upon the whole, cool tone in his flesh. A large altarpiece in the Städel Institute at Frankfort is a principal picture by him. The centre contains the family of St. Anna, the wings the Birth and Death of the Virgin. A smaller altarpiece, with St. Anna and the Virgin and Child in the centre, No. 575, and SS. Barbara and Catherine and the Annunciation on the wings, No. 575, a, b, are in the Berlin Museum. [The attribution to Fyoll is somewhat doubtful.]

By far the greatest German painter of the fifteenth century was MARTIN SCHONGAUER, commonly called MARTIN SCHÖN, who flourished on the Upper Rhine. [The place of his birth is contested; it has been described alternately as Augsburg, Colmar, and Ulm. Hassler concedes that antiquarian research has not given any support as yet to the claim of Ulm, and Augsburg seems at best to have been the residence of the family from which he descended.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Passavant Kunstblatt, 1841, No. 101.

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. R. D. Hassler, *Ulm's Kunstgeschichte* in C. Heideloff's *Die Kunst des Mittelalters in Schwaben*, u. s., p. 118.]

In the Pinakothek at Munich we find a portrait of Schongauer, inscribed "Hipsch Martin Schongauer Maler, 1453," the counterpart of one with the same inscription ascribed to "Giovanni Larkmair" (!) in the Spannocchi collection at Sienna. The Munich replica is catalogued in Murr's catalogue of the Praun collection at Nuremberg, under the name of Hans Leykmann (!). It bore then, as it does now, a paper pasted on the back of the panel, with words in German writing of the sixteenth century, to this effect: that "Master Martin Schongauer, called Hüpsch Martin, by reason of his skill as an artist, was born at Colmar of a family of Augsburg citizens, and died at Colmar, on the day of Mary's Purification (Feb. 2nd), in 1499; that the writer was Hans Leykmann, Schongauer's pupil in 1483."<sup>1</sup> Modern critics, and particularly Marggraff, read the last sentence of this statement so that the writer was "Hans Burgkmair, Schongauer's pupil in 1488;" but there is no reason why we should not read 1483 instead of 1488, for Burgkmair may well have been apprenticed as a boy to Schongauer, and the reading of "Burgkmair" might explain the ascription of the portrait at Sienna to "Larkmair."<sup>2</sup> Waagen was not inclined to accept the paper on the back of the Munich portrait as a genuine document; and he was supported in his view by an entry in the register of the parish of St. Martin of Colmar, discovered by Mr. Hugot, stating that Schongauer died at Colmar on the day of Mary's Purification, lxxxviii.<sup>3</sup> It may be, however, that Mr. Hugot's entry is falsified by the neglect of some ciphers, and this is considered probable, amongst others, by as able a judge as Schnaase.<sup>4</sup> The age of "Hipsch Martin," in the portraits of Sienna and Munich, has been guessed at thirty-three by Passavant, who so dates

<sup>1</sup> [C. T. de Murr, 'Description du Cabinet de M. P. de Praun,' 8vo. Nuremberg, 1797, p. 20.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Rudolf Marggraff, 'Die ältere Kgl. Pinakothek zu München,' 12mo, 1869, note to p. 161, reads 1483. Others, *ex. gr.*, Woltmann, read 1483, which is the version in Murr.]

<sup>3</sup> [Waagen, 'Handbook,' p. 130. Hugot in 'Kunstblatt,' 1841, p. 59; but see a modification of Waagen's opinions in his 'Handbuch,' 1862, p. 173.]

<sup>4</sup> [Schnaase (K.) Mittheilungen der Central Commission, Juli, 1863, p. 185 and following.]

his birth in 1420, but this is not acquiesced in by other writers.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that Schongauer was a pupil of Van der Weyden, for the fact is stated by Lambert Lombard, a painter of the sixteenth century, in a long and interesting letter to Vasari, containing valuable information as to this and other craftsmen in the Netherlands.<sup>2</sup> What we know of Schongauer as a painter is very slight; and although it is usual to ascribe a few pictures to him, and a description of some of these may be attempted here, it is well to bear in mind that there is no authority for assigning them to the master except tradition.]

In a number of engravings from designs of his own, Schongauer appears as an artist of great powers of invention in the department of ecclesiastical art, both in the representation of single figures, and also frequently in that of very animated compositions. In this respect, as well as in his feeling for beauty and spirituality, in which he greatly refined and individualised the tendency of the former period, he excels his great master Roger, and attained a European reputation. Among his most admirable engravings are the Death of the Virgin (Bartsch, No. 33); the Bearing of the Cross (No. 21); the Annunciation, see woodcut No. 1; those of the Passion (Nos. 9—20), of which see woodcut No. 2, of Christ appearing to the Magdalen; the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Nos. 77—86). Fantastic subjects he treats very rarely, though with great energy, as in his plate of the Temptation of St. Anthony (Bartsch, No. 47), see woodcut, of which Vasari testifies that Michael Angelo made a pen copy in his youth. Occasionally this great master exhibits a sound vein of humour in scenes from common life; as, for instance, in his Donkey Driver (Bartsch, No. 89). He is powerful in drawing, although his limbs, and especially his hands, are meagre. His drapery is more or less disfigured by sharp and angular breaks. His pictures show a warm, powerful, and transparent colour. His outlines are more

<sup>1</sup> [Passavant in 'Kunstblatt,' 1846 p. 167, and Harzen, contra, in a life of Zeitblom in Naumann's Archiv, 1860, p. 8.]

<sup>2</sup> [Lambert Lombard to Vasari, Liège, April 27th, 1565, in Gaye's 'Carteggio,' iii. 173 and following.]





THE ANNUNCIATION.

From an original by Antonio da Montecchi in the British Museum.

1841. No. 1





From an Engraving by Martin Schöngauer in the Vatican Museum.





ST. ANTHONY TORMENTED BY DEMONS.

An Engraving by Martin Schongauer, which Michael Angelo is said to have copied.

From the British Museum.

page 136, No. 3.





flowing, but his treatment is less true and less blended, than that of Van der Weyden. He cared little for finish in distances, and sometimes even resorts to gold ground. Of the number of pictures attributed to him in various public and private galleries the majority are by other painters after his engravings. The following alone I am inclined to consider genuine :—

The Death of the Virgin, a small picture, from the gallery of the King of Holland, afterwards in the collection of M. de Beaucousin at Paris, and now in the National Gallery. I believe this to be the earliest work we know by him. It is of the rarest beauty, but at the same time displays, in conception, glow of colour, and exactitude of execution, something of Roger van der Weyden ; belonging therefore to a time when the influence of that master was still fresh upon him. Martin Schongauer's peculiar type of head is, however, already very distinctly visible in those of the Virgin, and of the Almighty, who appears in the sky.

[Better still, if it be possible, is the Nativity, a small panel of great power and feeling, in the palace of the Duke della Grazia at Palermo.]

But Schongauer's most important picture, and the one which, by comparison with his engravings, is the best authenticated, is that of the Virgin in a bower of roses in St. Martin's church at Colmar. The Virgin—fully the size of life—is seated on a grass-bank, with the Child on her lap ; her features are noble and pure in expression, and her red drapery has a very luminous effect. The two angels suspending the crown over her head are very graceful ; the hedge of roses, with the birds nestling in it, completes the cheerful naïve impression of the picture ; the flesh-tones are clear and warm, and the painting of great finish.

Next to this we may place two wings from the monastery of St. Anthony at Issenheim, now in the Civic Library at Colmar ; the inner sides containing the Child adored by the Virgin, and St. Anthony the Hermit, with the donor ; the outer, the Annunciation. The ideal and slightly longing expression reminds us of Perugino ; the Virgin in both the pictures has finely arched eyelids, and features of regular

beauty. The Child, on the other hand, which is of masterly modelling, and obviously painted closely from nature, exhibits a very forcible realistic feeling. The colouring is warm, and, in the dignified St. Anthony, of great depth. The treatment is somewhat broad, and, in the rendering of the outlines, a more draughtsmanlike hand is distinctly seen.

Slighter works, but of spirited character, are the Descent from the Cross, and the Entombment, part of a series of pictures in the same place; the other twelve of which were executed partly by a tolerably skilful artist, and partly by one of a more mechanical character.

A good, though not important work, is the youthful David with the head of Goliath, returning surrounded by warriors, and greeted with music by the maidens. In the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 145.<sup>1</sup>

Another picture, representing Pilate asking the Jews whether he shall deliver to them Christ or Barabbas, in the collection of Mr. Green, of Hadley, near Barnet, agrees in so many respects with Martin Schön's engraving, that, in spite of the feebleness of the colour, I am inclined to consider it his work.<sup>2</sup>

FREDERICK HERLEN is a master who acted very decidedly upon the character of Swabian art. [As early as 1449, and up to 1454, he was a citizen of Ulm.]<sup>3</sup> A contemporary record of the year 1467, which states that, owing to his knowledge of the Netherlandish practice, he was admitted gratuitously to the privileges of a citizen of Nördlingen,<sup>4</sup> and the striking imitation of well-known works by Roger van der Weyden the elder in his pictures, leave no doubt of his having learned his art from that master. His real significance seems, indeed, to have consisted in his thus importing the art of the Van Eyck school into Upper Germany; for he neither displays any particular originality of his own, nor does he attain to the feeling and conscientious execution of

<sup>1</sup> [This picture is truly assigned in Marggraff's catalogue to Hans Schühlein.]

<sup>2</sup> 'Treasures of Art,' vol. ii. p. 459.

<sup>3</sup> [See Professor Hassler's 'Ulm's Kunstgeschichte,' 1864, in Heideloff's 'Kunst in Schwaben,' u. s., p. 117.]

<sup>4</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. i. p. 353.

his model. Suffice it, therefore, to mention a few of his chief works : as, for instance, the separately-placed wings of an altar in the church at Nördlingen, dated 1462,<sup>1</sup> representing the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Adoration of the Kings and of the Shepherds, the Presentation in the Temple, the Circumcision, the Flight into Egypt, and the youthful Christ teaching in the Temple. The wings of the high altar in the church at Rothenburg on the Tauber, chiefly the same subjects, but less delicately painted.<sup>2</sup> Pilate showing Christ to the people, dated 1468, in the church at Nördlingen ;<sup>3</sup> and finally, in the same church, the Virgin enthroned with the Child, with the kneeling figure of Herlen himself with four sons presented by St. Joseph, and his wife with five daughters presented by St. Margaret—doubtless the offering of the painter. This picture, which bears date 1488, shows that his art had become coarser in character. He died 1491.

The painters of the Swabian school retained in a higher degree than any other the style of art thus introduced by Frederick Herlen. This is evidenced by their realistic conception in its nobler form, by their feeling for warm flesh tints, by harmonious contrasts of colours, by their soft and blending, more than draughtsmanlike, use of the brush. Nor in their drapery did they fall into such numerous, arbitrary, and sharp breaks as are shown in the productions of the other provinces of Germany. On the other hand, they may be distinguished from their Netherlandish models in many instances by a greater feeling for spirituality and beauty in their sacred personages, by a cooler scale of colour—a cool brown-red and a full green being favourite hues in their drapery—and, finally, by a less close rendering of detail. At the same time two chief divisions may be distinguished within the Swabian school ; the one, which is the richest as to number of painters, had its seat at Augsburg, and early developed a decidedly realistic tendency ; the other, belonging to Ulm, showed a purer and tenderer feeling for religion, and more sense of beauty.

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. i. p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 324, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 353.

[In Augsburg the family of HOLBEIN is the first to attract attention in the person of Michael, the father of Sigmund and HANS HOLBEIN the elder. Hans the elder afterwards married and had two sons, the second of whom, Hans, is justly celebrated in the annals of German art.<sup>1</sup> The tendency of criticism has been to lower the reputation of the elder for the benefit of the younger Holbein, and this was done successfully by means of forged documents and inscriptions. In the process of cleaning the Martyrdom of St. Catherine, and Christ with His mother, and St. Anne, an altarpiece of 1512. by "Hans Holba," in the gallery of Augsburg, an inscription was "brought (1854) to light," declaring that the painter of the picture was Hans Holbein the younger, at the age of seventeen.<sup>2</sup> In consequence of this forgery, which was only discovered in 1871,<sup>3</sup> all the pictures in the style of the Martyrdom of St. Catherine were assigned to the son instead of the father; and consistence was given to this fiction by a forgery of records assigning to Hans Holbein the younger the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian at Munich.<sup>4</sup> This also was in due course discovered; and since that time the elder Holbein has been restored to the place which he naturally fills in the annals of his country. We recognize in him a clever master, who first formed his style upon the models of the school of Van der Weyden, and subsequently tempered that style by studying Italian and local tradition. It is hard to say at what time Hans Holbein the elder began practice as a painter in Augsburg, but of this we are sure, that he was inscribed on the rolls of the city in place of Michael Holbein in 1494. From that time till his death at Isenheim, in 1524, he spent years of prosperity alternating

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Waagen believed in the existence of Hans Holbein the grandfather, and describes a picture in possession of Mr. Samm of Mergenthau, inscribed "Hans Holbein, C. A., 1459." This picture is now in the Museum of Augsburg; its signature is a forgery, but consult Woltmann (Dr. A.), 'Holbein und Seine Zeit,' i. 363, and Mr. His-Heussler's contributions to Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' i. p. 187.]

<sup>2</sup> [The picture was at the time in the atelier of Mr. Eigner, the restorer of Augsburg.]

<sup>3</sup> [It is but fair to state that Herman Grimm (Holbein's 'Geburt's Jahr,' Berlin, 1867) declared the inscription a forgery.]

<sup>4</sup> [See Woltmann's 'Holbein,' i. 165.]



with years of depression. He was made a citizen of Ulm in 1499. He visited Frankfort in 1501. After 1516 he lived in debt and in trouble at Augsburg; and when he wandered away at last to paint an altarpiece at Isenheim,<sup>1</sup> bailiffs had been more than once unbidden guests in his house.<sup>2</sup> The earliest creations of Hans Holbein the elder are those in which he exhibits dependence on the models of Van der Weyden. Without losing altogether the smooth type of the German, or rather of the Rhenish, schools, he first produced pictures remarkable for slender figures, of mild and regular features, dressed in drapery of natural fall. Peculiarly characteristic of this period is the staidness of the attitudes and the clear transparence of tones, unrelieved by depth of shadow. Foremost amongst the pictures in this class is the Virgin and Child, with two angels, No. 126, in the Moritz Kapelle, signed "Hans Holbon, 14 . ." and a Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, inscribed "...s Holbaini," in the Landauer Brüderhaus at Nuremberg.<sup>3</sup> Of a similar stamp, but with a still more decided leaning to Van der Weyden, are two wings of an altarpiece from the Abbey of Weingarten, now distributed to four altars in the Cathedral of Augsburg, representing Joachim's Sacrifice, the Birth and Presentation of Mary, and the Presentation of Christ.<sup>4</sup> From these examples we proceed to others, in which the Flemish origin of the master's manner, though still apparent, is less distinctly marked, and of these the chief are the following: The Coronation of the Virgin, with the Nativity and Martyrdom of St. Dorothea in the wings, inscribed "1499, Hans Holba;" and a series of scenes from the Passion in one frame, in the Augsburg Gallery; a large composite altarpiece, completed in 1501, for the Dominicans of Frankfort, comprising the Last Supper, Christ entering Jerusalem, the Jews expelled from

<sup>1</sup> [Woltmann, u. s., i. 341, 342.]

<sup>2</sup> [Edward His, in Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' iv. p. 219, gives the proofs taken from Dr. Meyer's contributions to the 'Augsburger allg. Zeitg.' for August 14th, 1871. See also 'Jahrbücher,' iv. p. 267.]

<sup>3</sup> [It is proper to state that this picture has been assigned to Sigmund Holbein, on the supposition that S. Holbaini means Sigmund Holbein, yet, as the inscription stands, S is but the last letter of the word Hans, the three first letters being concealed.]

<sup>4</sup> [Woltmann, u. s., i. 75.]

the Temple, a Root of Jesse, the Tree of the Dominican order, and seven scenes from the Passion—all in the Städel Gallery at Frankfort.<sup>1</sup> The Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross, and Entombment, at Munich, part of an altarpiece of eighteen or twenty panels, painted in 1502, and originally in the Abbey of Keisheim. The Transfiguration, of the same year, with a Christ Crowned with Thorns, and scenes from the life of St. Paul, a large picture of 1504, in the Augsburg Gallery. To these we should add, as specimens of a more thoroughly German stamp, the grey panel of Christ carrying his Cross, belonging to Mr. Ahorner, at Munich; two parts of an altarpiece containing saints, in the Gallery of Prague; and twelve scenes of the Passion, in the Fürstenberg collection at Donaueschingen. About 1508, Hans Holbein probably painted the votive epitaph of Burgomaster Schwarz of Augsburg, now belonging to Mr. Paul von Stetten at Augsburg, a panel in which three figures of the Eternal, of Christ, and the Virgin are placed above a company of members of the Schwarz family. The faces here are portrayed with far more nature than in earlier efforts of the master; and many have held that these likenesses could only have been executed by the younger Hans Holbein, as helpmate to his father. There is no doubt that we trace in them something of the rare finesse of observation and power of reproduction which were developed in that wonderful master of portrait; but since it has become necessary to substitute the name of the father for that of the son, in the altarpiece of 1512, there is no alternative but to assign to Hans the elder the whole of the Schwartz epitaph; and in doing so we greatly lighten the task of those who have to prove how the style of Hans the younger was modelled to the form which it assumed in 1516-17 at Bâle. It is clear that during the earlier years of the sixteenth century a strong Italian influence was felt in South Germany, and that, probably in consequence of the relations which large mercantile houses like the Fuggers kept up with Augsburg and Nuremberg, painters

<sup>1</sup> [See Woltmann's 'Holbein,' i. 82, 83, and 'Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst,' i., 108.]

of German schools gradually became familiar with Venetian and Paduan forms of art. The elder Holbein was one of those who derived advantage from this intercourse. Without abandoning the German mould of form, he stripped it, especially in drapery, of many hardnesses, and—curious as the fact may appear—he threw off, to some extent, the impress of Van der Weyden's school, which he had received direct by way of the Rhine, for that of the Van Eycks, which he took, modified as it came to him, through the medium of Antonello and the Venetians from Italy. With this, and the feeling for architectural surface decoration derived from the Manteguesques and Bellinesques, he took a serious part in producing a revolution in German art. How these influences were brought to bear on the elder Holbein it is not easy to prove; but we may keep in mind that Anton Kolb, of Nuremberg, was an art publisher at Venice in the first years of the century, who had business relations alike with Jacob de Barbaris and Dürer; that Dürer and Hans Burgkmair paid visits to Venice in 1506 and 1508; that there was a brisk interchange of thought and of trade between the northern parts of Italy and the southern parts of Germany; and that Hans Holbein the elder was not unacquainted with the Fuggers, who were the most influential merchants of their time. It will be worth a journey to Berlin for any lover of art to take a look at Holbein's sketches, too long assigned to Hans the younger,—sketches which, taken in conjunction with those of Copenhagen, reveal to us the features and faces of the most important persons in Augsburg. If we turn to the sheets which illustrate the life of the painter's own family, we find there the likenesses of his sons Hans and Ambrose, aged fourteen and fifteen respectively. Amongst the celebrities we discover the Emperor Maximilian, his adviser, Kunz von der Rosen, and the boy Karl, afterwards Kaiser, with a falcon on his wrist. The whole kith and kin of the Fuggers is there, Jacob, Raimund, Anton, Ulrich, with Hans Schwartz, the sculptor, and ever so many citizens, monks, and shopkeepers. If in Italian art we have underrated the relations of Raphael to his father Santi, in German art we have altogether underrated

the influence of Hans Holbein the elder on Hans Holbein the younger.

The feeling which appears so prominently in the epitaph of the Burgomaster Schwarz becomes intensified in later works of the elder Holbein. In the Martyrdom of St. Catherine, and Christ with St. Anne and the Virgin, St. Ulrich, and the Martyrdom of St. Peter, an altarpiece of 1512, in the Gallery of Augsburg, the same upon which the name of Hans Holbein the younger was forged, the same of which we have Hans the elder's original sketch in the Gallery of Bâle. In the Virgin and Child of Mr. Schmitter-Hug, at Sanct-Gallen, and the portrait belonging to Count Lanckoronski, at Vienna, both panels of a diptych, dated 1513, and last, not least, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, with St. Barbara and St. Elizabeth, in the Pinakothek at Munich, a triptych, executed in 1516 for the convent of St. Catherine at Augsburg—a triptych in which we are introduced to the first bloom of the German renaissance.]<sup>1</sup>

SIGISMUND HOLBEIN, brother of the elder Hans, was also a [painter, but the pictures assigned to him are not authenticated in any way. He died at Berne in 1540.]<sup>2</sup>

After the family of Holbein, that of Burgkmair plays the most important part in the art of Augsburg. THOMAS BURCKMAIR, mentioned in public documents in the year 1479, may be considered first. Though possessing a certain ability and energy, he is inferior to Holbein. His figures are short, his flesh-tones of a heavy brown, his outlines hard. In the Augsburg Cathedral are two pictures, presented in 1480, on the columns of the choir: one is Christ conversing with St. Ulrich, the other the Virgin with St. Elizabeth of Thüringen, and the wife of the donor, the Burgomaster Walther. The

<sup>1</sup> [Consult for Holbein the elder the sources already named; also Woltmann's Catalogue of the Fürstenberg collection at Donaueschingen, and the numerous articles by His-Heussler, Wilhelm Schmidt, Herman Grimm, and von Zahn, in 'Jahrbücher,' u. s.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Virgin and Child, in the Landauer Brüderhaus, is assigned, as we saw, erroneously to Sigmund. There is no authority for attributing to Sigmund the fine female portrait, No. 722, in the National Gallery. See His-Heussler, in 'Jahrbücher,' i., 187, and Sigmund's will in Woltmann's 'Holbein,' i. 368.]

Gallery at Augsburg also contains a large picture, with the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, St. Lawrence, and scenes from the Passion.<sup>1</sup> [Thoman's death is registered in the Augsburg Guild roll for 1523.]<sup>2</sup>

[The oldest representative of the Swabian school, which flourished in Ulm, is HANS SCHÜHLEIN, or SCHÜCHLIN, whose existence may be traced in the rolls of taxes for Ulm between 1468 and 1502.<sup>3</sup> Harzen, who describes Schühlein's altarpiece, of 1469—Pilate washing his hands before the people, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection, in the church of Tiefenbronn—notes a striking resemblance between the treatment of this painter and that of Roger van der Weyden.<sup>4</sup> He ascribes to Schühlein the numerous parts of an altarpiece representing the "*Sippschaft*," or "Kith-and-kin" of Jesus, in Munich (Nos. 11 and 13, and Cabinets, 34 and 754); Schleissheim, and the Moritzkapelle, at Nuremberg (59, 62, 63, 66, 111, and 113), and two wings of an altarpiece, with eight scenes from the lives of Joachim, the Virgin Mary, and Christ, in the collection of Prince Hohenzollern Sigmaringen.]<sup>5</sup>

[Schühlein's son-in-law, BARTHOLOMEW ZEITBLOM, was born, it is supposed, between 1440 and 1450, and studied engraving under Martin Schongauer; he afterwards became a painter under the tuition of Schühlein, whose daughter he married in 1483.<sup>6</sup> Fragments of an inscription: ". . . von Hans Schülein v. B. Zeitblom zu Ulm mitgemacht 14 . . ." have been read<sup>7</sup> on the wing of an altarpiece originally in the village church of Münster, and later in possession of Mr. Eigner, at Augsburg.]

In the elevated and spiritual tendency of Zeitblom's art,

<sup>1</sup> See Passavant, 'Kunstblatt' of 1846, p. 186, [and the rolls of taxes in Woltmann, i. 363.]

<sup>2</sup> [See Guild roll in Woltmann's 'Holbein,' i. 358.]

<sup>3</sup> [Grüneisen and Mauch, Ulm's 'Kunstleben,' u. s. 42; and Harzen in Naumann's 'Archiv,' 1860, p. 27 and foll.; and Professor Hassler in Heideloff, u. s., p. 117.]

<sup>4</sup> [The Tiefenbronn altarpiece is inscribed on the back of the frame: "Gemacht zu Ulm vō Hansisse Schüchlin maler, MCCCCLXVIII., Jare.]

<sup>5</sup> [Harzen, u. s. These panels Dr. Waagen assigned to Zeitblom before he was aware of the connection between that painter and Schühlein.]

<sup>6</sup> [Harzen, u. s.]

<sup>7</sup> [Harzen, u. s., and Woltmann, Catalogue of the Fürstenberg Coll., p. 6.]



as well as in the style of his flesh painting, it is obvious that Martin Schongauer exercised no small influence over him. Though inferior to him in sense of beauty, he has a power of attraction in the simplicity, purity, and earnestness of his religious feeling, which few possess. At the same time his limbs are still, for the most part, meagre and inflexible, and a favourite type of head is too often repeated; this, however, is rendered with so much care, and with such warm, transparent, and, in his later pictures, refined colouring, as to rival the works of Quentin Massys. Finally, his broad drapery, devoid of the sharp and angular character, has a peculiar and harmonious combination of colour.

[Among his early works are two wings of an altarpiece, commissioned in 1473 for the church of Kilchberg, near Tübingen (Nos. 423, 429, 440, and 444 of the Stuttgart Gallery), in which the heads are worked in with great care, and painted in warm and pleasing tones.]<sup>1</sup>

Two wings of an altar from the monastery of Roggenburg, near Ulm, formerly in possession of M. Abel of Ludwigsburg, containing figures of the Virgin, the Magdalen, SS. Helena and John, are of this period. The wings of an altar-chest, with carved work in the centre, dated 1488, show already a more original development. They were formerly in the village of Hausen, near Ulm, and passed into the possession of the late Professor Hassler at Ulm: they represent SS. Nicholas and Francis, and Christ on the Mount of Olives. The master, however, appears in the highest form of his art in the wings of a large altarpiece painted for the parish church of Eschach in 1495, [now Nos. 411, 412, 421, 422, in the Stuttgart Gallery]; the inner sides containing the Annunciation and the Salutation; the outer, in figures somewhat larger than life, both the SS. John. These last, in point of dignity, tenderness of feeling, and delicately-balanced harmony of the warm and clear colouring, are among the most important works which the German school, taken altogether, produced at this time. Two angels holding a suda-

<sup>1</sup> [Grüneisen and Mauch, u. s. 44. These pictures were in the Abel collection; they represent St. Margaret, St. John the Baptist, St. George, and St. Florian.]

rium, of uncommon grandeur of character, formed once a portion of the predella of the same altarpiece. This is now in the Berlin Museum, No. 606 A. [Of the same year, probably, are twelve scenes from the life of the Baptist, on the inner sides of the high altarpiece in the church of Blaubeuren, and the Crucifixion and Carrying of the Cross on the outer sides of the same piece. There is much power, too, in the fresco on the side of the church of Blaubeuren, dated 1490, representing the Baptist, of colossal dimensions.<sup>1</sup> Fine, likewise, are the four doctors of the church from Eschach (1490), Nos. 426, 427, 439, and 443, in the Stuttgardt Museum.] To this, Zeitblom's maturest time, belong also the wings, executed 1497, of an altarpiece, at the church of Heerberg, a small place in Swabia, representing scenes from the life of the Virgin. A head also of St. Anna, in the Berlin Museum [withdrawn], of delicate feeling and warm and clear colouring, shows this master in his full excellence. [It has not been ascertained in what year Zeitblom died, but he was still on the rolls as a tax-payer in Ulm in 1517.]<sup>2</sup>

[Companion to Zeitblom, and of the same period, is JACOB ACKER, described by Hassler as the painter of an altarpiece in the church of Ristissen in Swabia.]<sup>3</sup>

The Franconian school, of which Nuremberg, as in the former epoch, constituted the centre, received with the oil painting of the Netherlands also the realistic modes of conception proper to that country. In many of their compositions also the influence of Roger van der Weyden is perceptible. As compared with the Swabian school, however, this school remained more true to the traditional treatment of ecclesiastical subjects; its compositions are also more conformable to style. At the same time the draughtsmanlike character prevails infinitely more here, the outlines not being, as in Swabia, lost and fused in the forms. Separate colours

<sup>1</sup> [Harzen, u. s.]

<sup>2</sup> [Grüneisen and Mauch, u. s. 43.]

<sup>3</sup> [Hassler, *Ulm's Kunstgeschichte*, in Heideloff's *Kunst des Mittelalters in Schwaben*, p. 119, and Grüneisen and Mauch, u. s., p. 41. Acker painted the doors of the organ loft at Münster in Swabia in 1473, and the altarpiece of Ristissen in 1483.]

<sup>4</sup> *Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland*, vol. i. p. 117.

are more lively, but far less harmonious in relation to each other, so that Franconian pictures have generally a gaudy look. The action also is more angular, the drapery sharper and more arbitrary in the breaks; and if the heads of many a saintly personage show that an attempt at ideal beauty has been preserved from the former period, the vulgarity and coarseness of the caricatured heads, especially of the soldiers, are much more objectionable than in the Swabian school.

Belonging to the beginning of this epoch are the pictures on the wings of the altar, executed 1453, in the chapel of the noble family of Löffelholz, in the church of St. Sebaldus at Nuremberg. The inner sides contain events from the legends of the Emperor Henry II. and his consort Kunigunda, the outer the Adoration of the three Kings and St. George killing the Dragon. On the inner side of the predella are Christ and Saints, on the outer the portraits of the numerous family of Löffelholz. The motives in some cases are very successful, and in those heads which have not been painted over may be seen a thorough study, good warm colouring, and conscientious technical execution.

The chief master of this period was MICHAEL WOHLGEMUTH, born 1434, died 1519. All his pictures show great power and clearness of colouring: otherwise there are few painters so unequal in merit. This arises not only from the circumstance that, being sought far and near to execute large altar-chests, in which the charge of colouring the figures or reliefs in wood was also included, he left much to the workmanship of rude assistants, but also because he himself devoted his own powers very capriciously to the task. The following are some of his principal works:—Four pictures representing scenes from the Passion, of somewhat coarse character, belonging to his earlier time [inscribed 1465], originally in the church of the Holy Trinity at Hof, in Bavaria, now in the Munich Gallery, Nos. 22, 27, 34, and 39, [and Christ's Mission to the Apostles, in the Frauenkirche at Munich]. The large altarpiece at Zwickau, executed 1479, is an improvement on that of Hof in some of the panels, especially in the four of the life of the Virgin.<sup>1</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. i. p. 56.

is seen, however, to most advantage in single figures of saints, life-size, portions of an altarpiece, painted in 1487 for the Augustin church, now in the chapel of St. Maurice, at Nuremberg, Nos. 45, 53, 74, and 80.<sup>1</sup> Of the altarpiece in the church at Schwabach, not far from Nuremberg, painted from 1506 to 1508, only the stately figures of John the Baptist and St. Martin are probably by the master's hand.<sup>2</sup> His best work I am inclined to consider the paintings on an altarpiece in the church of Heilsbronn, also in the same part of Franconia. They represent scenes from the life of Christ, the Mass of Pope Gregory, and the portraits of the donor, the Markgraf Frederick IV., and his family. The heads of the sacred personages are here of higher and more varied character, and the portraits more living than usual.<sup>3</sup> In England I only met with one notable picture by Wohlgemuth, formerly in the Campe collection at Nuremberg, now in that of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell. It represents in a rich composition the Bearing of the Cross, and belongs to his most careful works. The same may be said of two pictures in the Liverpool Institution, representing Pilate washing his hands, and the Descent from the Cross. This master also made the designs [1491] for a series of woodcuts in the now rare chronicle of Nuremberg by Schedel, a copy of which is also in Mr. Russell's possession.<sup>4</sup>

In Nuremberg and other towns in Franconia may be seen many a picture, obviously of the school of Wohlgemuth, though collectively falling short of his excellence in art. They serve to show that, with the exception of the great Albert Durer, he attracted no other scholar of any repute.

The contemporary artists of Bavaria are still less interesting. By one of them, GABRIEL MÄHSELKIRCHER, of Munich, who flourished about 1470, are two pictures of very large dimensions in the Gallery of Schleissheim, representing Christ

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. i. pp. 184, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 307, etc. The large picture attributed to him in the Gallery at Vienna differs, to my view, both in conception and technical qualities, too much from all his authenticated works to be by his hand.

<sup>4</sup> [See the records given by J. Baader, in Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' ii. 73.]

bearing the Cross, and the Crucifixion, which are marked with a sort of wild barbarism and fantastic extravagance. In the same collection is a large and rude Crucifixion by ULRICH FÜTERER of Landshut, about 1480, painted to imitate sculpture in compartments of Gothic architecture.

Nor are the pictures by HANS VON OLENDORF, at Schleissheim, of a higher character. They exhibit no feeling, the drawing is feeble, and the colour very hard.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE GERMAN SCHOOLS FROM 1500 TO 1550.

DURING this period the realistic tendency adopted in Germany attained, by means of a greater command of the materials and qualities of art, partly founded on the improved sciences of proportion and perspective, to a higher truthfulness of representation. A number of spirited inventions, embodying scenes not only of a religious character, but taken also from allegory and from common life, thus found expression. In the abundance of these inventions, in the feeling for style with which they were composed, and in mastery of drawing, the German artists decidedly surpassed their Netherlandish contemporaries, such as Quentin Massys, Lucas van Leyden, etc. On the other hand, as regards colour, they are found, with few exceptions, to be in arrear of the Netherlands; in their treatment, also, the draughtsmanlike feeling prevails in the indication of the outline, and the frequently hatched shadows, which give a certain hardness peculiar to their pictures. Nor do they stand quite on an equality with the painters of the Netherlands in management of detail, though gold grounds, with few exceptions, had been abolished, and landscape backgrounds, frequently of great finish, introduced. Indeed we find them, in some cases, painting landscape for its own sake. Still more do the Germans fall short of the excellence of contemporary Italian masters. But while admitting that their inferiority in those qualities—ideality



of conception, simplification and beauty of forms, and grace of movement—which give the highest charm to the works of a Leonardo, a Raphael, and a Correggio, is partly owing to a difference in their innate feeling for art, partly to the less favourable conditions of beauty in man, nature, and climate, yet the fact itself, that German painters did not, even in the mode of art peculiar to themselves, arrive at that perfectly harmonious development of every quality,—form, colour, and chiaroscuro,—which distinguishes the Italian, must be sought for in various other causes. The taste for the fantastic in art peculiar to the middle ages, though it engendered clever and spirited works, was still unfavourable to the cultivation of pure beauty. This taste, which the Italians had long thrown off, found, even in this period, favour with the Germans: scenes from the Apocalypse, Dances of Death, etc., being among their favourite subjects for art. On the other hand, the pictorial treatment of antique literature, a world suggestive of beautiful conceptions, was so little comprehended by the Germans, that they only sought to express it through the medium of those fantastic forms, with very childish and even tasteless results. We must also remember that that average education of the various classes of society, of princes, nobles, burghers, which the fine arts require for their protection, stood on a far lower footing in Germany than in that then favoured land which, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, had taken the lead of all others. In Italy, consequently, the favour with which works of art were regarded was far more widely extended, and entailed a far higher standard of merit. This again gave rise to a more elevated personal position on the part of the artist, which in Italy was not only one of more consideration, but, owing to its pecuniary rewards, of incomparably greater independence. In this latter respect Germany was so deficient that the genius even of an Albert Durer and Holbein was miserably cramped and hindered in development by the poverty and littleness of surrounding circumstances. It is known that of all the German princes no one but the Elector Frederic the Wise ever gave Albert Durer a commission for pictures,<sup>1</sup> while

<sup>1</sup> 'Reliquien von Albrecht Dürer, von Campe,' Nürnberg, 1818, p. 59.

a writing, addressed by the great painter to the magistracy of Nuremberg, tells us that his native city never gave him employment even to the value of 500 florins.<sup>1</sup> At the same time his pictures were so meanly paid, that for the means of subsistence, as he says himself, he was compelled to devote himself to engraving.<sup>2</sup> How far more such a man as Albert Durer would have been appreciated in Italy and in the Netherlands is further evidenced in the above-mentioned writing, where he states that he was offered 200 ducats a year in Venice, and 300 Philipsgulden in Antwerp, if he would settle in either of those cities. And Holbein fared still worse: there is no evidence whatever that any German prince ever troubled himself at all about the great painter; while in the city of Basle his art was so little cared for that necessity compelled him to go to England,<sup>3</sup> where a genius fitted for the highest undertakings of historical painting was limited to the sphere of portraiture. The crowning impediments, finally, which hindered the progress of German art, and also perverted it from its true aim, were the Reformation, which narrowed the sphere of ecclesiastical works, and the pernicious imitation of the great Italian masters which ensued.

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#### THE FRANCONIAN SCHOOL.

The head of this school, at this period, was the celebrated ALBERT DURER.<sup>4</sup> In him the style of art already existing attained its most original and highest perfection. He became the representative of German art of this period. His

<sup>1</sup> 'Reliquien von Albrecht Dürer, von Campe,' Nürnberg, 1818, pp. 34 and 37.

<sup>2</sup> Same work, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> "Hic frigent artes. Petit Angliam ut corradat aliquot Angelatus," says Erasmus of Rotterdam, in a letter he gave Holbein in Basle to his friend Petrus Egydius in Antwerp, in 1526.

<sup>4</sup> There are several special works on Durer. The oldest is by H. C. Arend, 'Das Gedächtniss der Ehren Albrecht Dürer's,' Gosslar, 1728. Later ones are: Weisse, 'A. Dürer und sein Zeitalter,' Leipzig, 1819; 'Reliquien von A. Dürer,' Nürnberg, 1828, J. Heller, 'Das Leben und die Werke A. Dürer's,' Leipzig, 1831. [A. v. Eye, 'Leben und Wirken A. Dürer's,' Nördlingen, 1860, Stark, 'Albrecht Dürer und seine Zeit,' in the Germania, Leipzig, 1851, and 'Dürer's Kunstlehre,' von Dr. A. v. Zahn, 8vo, Leipzig, 1866.] ['Life, etc., of A. Dürer,' by W. B. Scott, 1869, 'The History, etc., of A. Dürer,' by Mrs. Heaton, and 'A New Life of A. Dürer,' etc., by Moritz Thausing, 1879. Translated from the German.]

spirit was rich and inexhaustible: not content with painting and the other arts of design, he exerted his powers in the kindred studies of sculpture and architecture; he was gifted with a power of conception which traced Nature through all her finest shades, and with a lively sense, as well for the solemn and the sublime, as for simple grace and tenderness; above all, he had an earnest and truthful feeling in art, united with a capacity for the severest study, such as is shown in the composition of his various theoretical works.<sup>1</sup> These qualities were sufficient to place him by the side of the greatest artists whom the world has ever seen. But he again was unable wholly to renounce the general tendency to the fantastic—a tendency which essentially obstructed the pure development of his power as an artist. It must be admitted that in his hands this principle gave birth to single productions of such beauty and importance as we rarely meet with elsewhere; calling into life works which may truly be called “Poems,” and of which the mysterious subjects excite the liveliest interest. Albert Durer’s drawing is full of life and character; he fails, however, in feeling for beauty, and his nude is vulgar and sometimes even ugly in character; his drapery, too, is frequently cut up into those sharp forms which were the fashion of his day, but by no means favourable to the development of the figure. In ideal drapery his folds are almost always cast in large and beautiful masses; but even here, in the breaks and angles, he cannot wholly discard that singular mannerism which confuses the eye, and disturbs the noble impression of the principal forms. His colouring is unequal: sometimes very brilliant, but generally wanting in truth and transparency; while the hard outlines show rather the hand of a great draughtsman. Even in the expression and form of the countenance, Durer follows a certain form, which cannot be called the normal type of ideal beauty, nor, in some instances, even a faithful copy of common life after the manner of his

<sup>1</sup> ‘Underweysung der messung mit dem zirckel und richtscheyt,’ etc., 1525; ‘Etliche underricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schlosz, und Flecken,’ 1527; ‘Vier bücher von menschlicher Proportion,’ 1518. There are different editions and translations of all the above, of a later date.

predecessors, but can only be explained from his prevailing tendency towards what is singular. When, however, in spite of all this, the greater number of his works make a deep impression on the mind and feelings of the spectator, it is a strong proof of the peculiar greatness of his abilities as an artist.

The consideration of the single works of this master, to which we now pass, will explain more clearly the observations just made, and the chronological arrangement of these works will afford an opportunity for some interesting notices of his progress as an artist. I shall especially consider his pictures (so far at least as they have come under my own observation), since it is only in them that the full extent of his unwearied powers can be recognized. The most important of his numerous woodcuts and engravings must also be noticed with a particular reference to their dates when known.

[Albert Durer was born on the 21st of May, 1471, at Nuremberg, and died suddenly in that city on the 6th of April, 1528.<sup>1</sup> His father, a goldsmith, sent him, when quite a boy (1484), to Martin Schön,<sup>2</sup> in whose atelier he doubtless met Hans Burgkmair, who, in after life was his most active assistant. Later on Durer took lessons from Michael Wohlgemuth, to whom he was apprenticed (1486) for three years.<sup>3</sup> In 1490—1494, he went wandering as a painter companion, and so got a first glimpse of Venice, to which he was afterwards to return, when his talents became mature.]

The earliest portrait by Albert Durer known to me is that of his father, Albrecht Dürer the goldsmith, dated 1497. In the year 1644 this picture, which is engraved by Hollar, was in the collection of the Earl of Arundel; it is now in

<sup>1</sup> [See Lützelberger's proofs in the Nürnberger correspondent for May 1871].

<sup>2</sup> [Neudörffer, 'Nachrichten von Nürnberger Künstlern,' MS. of 1546, Campe's ed., 12mo., Nuremberg, 1828, p. 36, states this fact, which Durer himself has not noted in his diary. It is probably correct, because we see Schön's influence in Durer's prints.]

<sup>3</sup> [Durer's diary in Campe's 'Reliquien,' p. 7, and Durer to Pirckheimer, from Venice, in 1506. *Ib. ib.*, p. 13.]







ALBERT DURER.

Painted by himself. In the Collection of Artists' Portraits at Florence. page 155.

that of the Duke of Northumberland, at Sion House. It is of most animated conception; the execution light but spirited, and of a draughtsmanlike character; the colouring warm, and truly harmonious.<sup>1</sup>

The same portrait, bearing the same date (1497), but differing in many respects, and with the following inscription—

“Das malt ich nach meines vatters gestalt,  
Da Er war siebenzich Jar alt;”—

*Albrecht Dürer Der elter.*

is now in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 128. It is closely allied to the former in conception and treatment, and is also of great excellence, though of less force of colour.

Again, the same portrait, bearing date 1498, is in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence.<sup>2</sup> This one is yellower in the flesh-tones, and with a greenish background; also of more body than the two preceding. It was presented, with the next-mentioned portrait, its companion, by the city of Nuremberg to Charles I. of England, at the sale of whose gallery both pictures were purchased for the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

[A very interesting work of this time is the likeness of a young girl, dated 1497, in the collection of Baron Speck von Sternburg, near Leipzig; a clear and highly finished bust, once an ornament of the Arundel collection, and engraved by Hollar.]

The next picture by the master known to us is his own portrait, of the year 1498, in the Florentine collection of artists' portraits painted by themselves, in the Uffizj; the arrangement of the picture is well known—the artist, a half-length figure, stands at a window, the hands resting on the window-sill. He is arrayed in a peculiar holiday dress—a shirt neatly plaited and cut low in the neck, a white jerkin

<sup>1</sup> A good school copy of this picture is in the Städel Gallery at Frankfort [No. 106].

<sup>2</sup> [Otto Mündler very properly observes that the date on this picture is a forgery. On the back of the panel are the arms of Durer and the ciphers 1490; and so the Uffizi portrait is the earliest one that Durer painted of his father. See 'Beiträge zu Burckhardt's Cicerone,' Leipzig, 1870, p. 30.]

striped with black, a pointed cap, and a brown mantle over the left shoulder, the hair falling in carefully arranged curls. The painting, with some sharpness in the drawing, has a breadth and softness, especially in the lights, which we rarely find at a later period; the shadows of the carnation have a light bronze tint. The expression of the countenance is honest and homely, with a certain naïve self-complacency, which is indeed tolerably manifest in the letters written by him to Pirckheimer about eight years later.<sup>1</sup>

[Turning from portrait to composition, we assign to 1498 the Nativity, with kneeling figures of patricians, an altarpiece from St. Catherine of Nuremberg, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, in the Munich Pinakothek.]

In the same year, 1498, appeared his woodcuts, illustrating the Book of Revelation, and which we should perhaps regard as proofs of his activity in the years immediately preceding. Here the artist already exhibits a great and peculiar excellence, though, as might be expected from the subject, the fantastic element forms the groundwork of the whole. These mystical subjects are conceived in a singularly poetic spirit: the marvellous and the monstrous meet us in living bodily forms. Some of them exhibit a power of representation to the eye, and a grandeur of conception, the more surprising, since the shapeless exuberance of the scriptural visions might easily have led the artist astray, as has indeed frequently happened in the case of others who have attempted these subjects. How powerful is that second plate, in which He with eyes of flaming fire, the seven stars in His right hand, and a two-edged sword in His mouth, sits enthroned among the seven golden candlesticks, with St. John kneeling in adoration before Him! In the fourth plate, how mighty is the descent upon the earth of the four riders, with scales, bows, swords, and other weapons of death! In the eighth, how the four angels of the Euphrates dash to the ground with their swords the mighty and the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Waagen holds that this portrait is the original, of which there is a copy in the Madrid Museum. See his opinion in Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' i. p. 54. Otto Mündler believed (Beiträge, u.s. 30) the original to be at Madrid and the copy at the Uffizj.]

proud of the earth, whilst over them ride the awful company of horsemen on the lion-headed horses, spitting forth fire ! But it would occupy too much time to enter upon all the details of these remarkable works. We now return to his pictures.

Several of Albert Durer's pictures of the year 1500 are known to us. The first and most important is his own portrait in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 124, which represents him in front, with his hand laid on the fur trimming of his robe. There is a considerable difference between this and the Florence portrait, although the artist is here but two years older—a difference from which we may infer that a remarkable crisis had taken place in the development of his mind. In the Florence picture he is a good-natured harmless youth, see woodcut : in that at Munich he has suddenly ripened into manhood ; his features have become full and powerful, they have gained the expression of a formed character ; the forehead and eyes give evidence of an earnest and deep-thinking spirit. The technical treatment, too, which contributes so much to give a peculiar stamp to his later works, is here fully matured, particularly the thin glazing in the shadows of the carnations, which lends to the picture we speak of an almost glassy transparency. The modelling is excellent, although still somewhat severe, and although considerable restorations are perceptible. The hair falls on both shoulders in beautiful profusion, and is very finely painted ; the hand which holds the fur of the upper garment over the breast is still stiff in the drawing, and, what is in striking contrast to the painting of the face, the colour is thickly laid on.<sup>1</sup>

Of the same year is a Hercules attacking the Harpies, painted in distemper ; a fine, powerfully drawn figure, but much injured. In the collection of the Landauer Brüderhaus at Nuremberg.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [There is a fine old copy of this portrait in the Suermondt collection at Aix-la-Chapelle.] [Now at Berlin, No. 557 A.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Wail of the Marys over the dead body of Christ, No. 94 in the Munich Gallery, is certified by a monogram, and the date 1500 ; but it is doubtful whether either is genuine.]

In the gallery of the Belvedere, in Vienna, is a Virgin nursing the Infant, of the year 1503. It contains little more than the heads of both figures. Though lightly and very pleasingly painted, it is uninteresting in expression, and seems nothing more than the portrait of the sturdy wife of some burgher.

But the engraving of the same date, of the coat of arms with the Death's head, is far more interesting. The two supporters—the smiling woman with the braided tresses and fantastic crown, and the wild man who grasps her, and turns, as if to kiss her—have a peculiar and fantastic charm about them. The engraving, too, of Adam and Eve, of the year 1504, ranks among the best of the master's works.

The finest picture of the year 1504 is an Adoration of the Kings; originally painted for Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, subsequently presented by the Elector Christian II. to the Emperor Rudolph II., and finally, on the occasion of an exchange of pictures, transferred from Vienna to Florence, where it now hangs in the Tribune of the Uffizj. The heads are of thoroughly realistic treatment; the Virgin a portrait from some model of no attractive character; the second king the portrait of the painter himself. The landscape background exactly resembles that in the well-known engraving of St. Eustace, the period of which is thus pretty nearly defined. It is carefully painted in a fine body of colour.

To about the same time we may assign the fine portrait of a man with broad-brimmed hat and an order round his neck, now in the collection of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle.

[Of 1505 is a fine male portrait in the Borghese Palace at Rome.]

In the year 1506 Albert Durer made a journey into Upper Italy, and remained a considerable time at Venice. Of his occupations in this city the letters written to his friend Wilibald Pirckheimer, which have come down to us, give many interesting particulars. He there executed for the German Company a picture which brought him great fame, and by its brilliant colouring silenced the assertion of his envious adversaries, "that he was a good engraver, but



knew not how to deal with colours." In the centre of the landscape is the Virgin, seated, with the Child, and crowned by two Angels; on her right is a Pope with priests, kneeling; on her left the Emperor Maximilian I., with knights; various members of the German Company are also kneeling: all are being crowned with garlands of roses by the Virgin, the Child, St. Dominick—who stands behind the Virgin—and by angels. The painter and his friend Pirckheimer are seen standing in the background on the right; the painter holds a tablet, with the inscription, "*Exegit quinque mestri spatio, Albertus Durer Germanus, MDVI,*" and his monogram. This picture, which is one of his largest and finest, was purchased of the church at a high price by the Emperor Rudolph II. for his gallery at Prague, where it remained until sold in 1782, with other objects from the same collection, by the Emperor Joseph II. It then became the property of the Præmonstratensian monastery of Strahow at Prague, where it still exists, though in very injured condition and greatly over-painted. In the Museum at Lyons may be seen a copy, with various important alterations, which was executed towards the close of the sixteenth century, and which there passes for the original.<sup>1</sup>

[The most attractive picture of the year is the crucified Saviour, in the Gallery of Dresden, an exquisite production, in which Durer shows how thoroughly he was master of drawing, proportion, and expression, a marvel of finish, and full of effect.

In contrast to this, and done, we might think, to prove how quick even a German of Durer's type could work, is a Christ amidst the Doctors, in the Barberini Palace at Rome, executed, as the inscription says, and the spectator can guess, "in five days."]<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A good lithograph, executed with the pen by Bademann, taken from the original, was published in Prague in 1835. For further description of this important picture, see an article by me in the '*Kunstblatt*' of 1854, p. 200, etc. [Compare also Grimm. '*Künstler und Kunstwerke*,' 1865, i. 166-7, and De Ris, *Les Musées de Provence*, ii. 379.]

<sup>2</sup> [Vasari says that the cause of Durer's journey to Venice was Marcantonio's issue of the Passion engravings with Durer's monogram: the result was an arrangement between the two engravers to issue the

In the Gallery of the Belvedere, at Vienna, is a portrait, of the year 1507, of a young man, with a high colour. It is wonderfully beautiful, true to life, and finely painted, so as to equal Durer's best works in portraiture; but it is unfortunately not in as good preservation as we could wish. This picture allows us to judge of the excellence of another painted in the same year, and which afterwards passed from the possession of the Council of Nuremberg into the gallery of the Emperor Rudolph II. It represents, on two different panels, Adam and Eve, life-size, at the moment of the Fall. On that containing Eve is the inscription, "Albertus Durer Alemanus faciebat post Virginis partum, 1507," with the monogram. The head of Eve is very delicately formed for the painter, the drawing good, the outlines animated, and the modelling careful. These panels are now in the Madrid Gallery.<sup>1</sup> Another example of the same subject, of great beauty, and proceeding undoubtedly from the studio of Albert Durer, is in the Pitti Palace. A third, also called an original picture, in the Mayence Gallery, is, on the other hand, an early copy.<sup>2</sup>

With these productions begins the zenith of this master's fame, in which a great number of distinguished works follow one another within a short period. Of these we first notice a picture of 1508, in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna, painted for Duke Frederick of Saxony, and which afterwards adorned the gallery of the Emperor Rudolph II. It represents the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Saints. In the centre of the picture stand the master and his friend Pirckheimer as spectators, both in black dresses. Albert Durer has a mantle thrown over the shoulder in the Italian fashion, and stands

Passion as a joint undertaking (Vas. ix. 265-7). These statements are not confirmed by Durer's correspondence; they are treated as fables by most writers. But Mr. F. Reiset gives reasons for thinking that Marcantonio did copy and sell as Durer's those plates of the Passion which bear dates earlier than 1507, *ex. gr.* the Meeting of Joachim and Anna (1504), the Annunciation and Epiphany (1506). Compare F. Reiset's 'Notice des Dessins,' etc., Paris, 1866, pp. 360—362.]

<sup>1</sup> Passavant's 'Christliche Kunst in Spanien,' p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> [The Pitti contains the originals of which the Madrid pictures are copies. The replica at Mayence, No. 204, is very unattractive, and looks like a work of the school of Mabuse.]

in a firm attitude. He folds his hands, and holds a small flag, on which is inscribed, "*Iste faciebat anno domini 1508 Albertus Durer Alemanus.*" There are a multitude of single groups around, exhibiting every species of martyrdom, but there is a want of general connection of the whole. The scenes in the background, where the Christians are led naked up the rocks, and are precipitated down from the top, appear to me particularly excellent. The whole is very minute and miniature-like; the colouring is beautifully brilliant, and it is painted (the accessories particularly) with extraordinary care. There is also much that is good in the drawing of single parts, but the conception wants real dignity, power, and individuality. It is only here and there that pain is well expressed; for instance, in the last but one of the nude figures who are led up the mountain, and who totters along, weary to the death, with a deep wound in the head. The background forms an excellent but fanciful landscape of rocks and trees. In the Schleissheim Gallery there is a repetition of this picture—no doubt an old copy.<sup>1</sup>

In the following year Albert Durer painted the celebrated Assumption of the Virgin for Jacob Heller of Frankfort, a picture which he executed with the most persevering diligence, and the centre-piece without any assistance. Here again the painter himself stands in the centre, leaning upon a tablet inscribed with his name, and with the date. There are numerous ancient testimonies to the excellence of this work. [It was purchased at the close of the sixteenth century by Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, at the cost of 10,000 florins and a copy by Paul Juvenel of Nuremberg; and it subsequently perished by fire at Munich in 1674. Juvenel's copy was preserved, and still exists in the Stahlhof at Frankfort, where numerous pieces of the wings were recently brought together by the industry of an excellent art critic, Dr. Moriz Thausing. On the open wings are the Martyrdoms of St.

<sup>1</sup> [O. Mündler adds to our list of pictures for this year a small one in the Santangelo collection at Naples, representing a woman tying a garland at a window, inscribed with Durer's name, the date 1508, and the words in a white ribband: "*Ich Pint mit Verges mein nit.*" See 'Beiträge,' p. 30.]

James and St. Catherine, beneath which there are portraits of Jacob Heller and his wife. Of four pieces forming the outer sides of the wings three have been found: one representing two canonized kings, another, St. Thomas (?) and St. Christopher, yet another, St. Peter and St. Paul. Moriz Thausing very justly observes that it is difficult to say to which of Durer's assistants the wing pictures can be assigned. They were too poor to prove attractive to the Elector of Bavaria.]<sup>1</sup>

Two excellent woodcuts may also be mentioned as examples of Durer's activity in 1510. The first is the beautiful plate which represents a Penitent kneeling before the altar and scourging himself on his naked back, and the second that in which Death seizes upon an armed warrior.

In 1511 he published three large series of woodcuts, some of which, as shown by their dates, had been executed in the two preceding years. These were the greater and the lesser Passion, and the Life of the Virgin. They are some of the best of Albert Durer's works which have descended to us; in them we find, almost more than in any others, intimations of a lively feeling for beauty and simple dignity, whilst the fantastic features of his style and the homeliness of his conception are less offensively prominent. We can take but a rapid glance at a few of this rich series.

The Great Passion.—The title-page represents Christ sitting naked on a stone, with the crown of thorns, whilst one of the soldiers thrusts into his hand the reed. The form of Christ is most noble, full, and beautiful; the soldier, in the costume of the middle ages, is fierce and scornful, but also a finely formed and well-developed figure. The Saviour is wringing his hands, while he turns his majestic head, full of divine compassion, towards the spectator—for, as a frontispiece, this representation has here a symbolical meaning: it is not the mockery of Christ, as an event of history, but the lasting reproach cast upon the Saviour by sinners; hence the wounds on the hands and feet are already marked. The Bearing of the Cross is a composition with numerous figures

<sup>1</sup> [See 'Der Hellersche Altar,' by Moriz Thausing, in 'Zeitschrift,' f. b. Kunst, vi., pp. 93 and 135.]

thickly grouped, yet conveying the most perfect view of the subject, and the clearest development of the action. In the centre the Saviour sinks on his knee under the weight of the cross; on the right the executioner, in whose figure there is an ostentatious display of muscular power, drags him up by the rope; on the left is St. Veronica kneeling, with the handkerchief in her hands, while Christ turns to her with an expression of tender love. Behind him is another executioner, who with savage haste appears to throw Jesus forward among stones and thistles; whilst Simon of Cyrene, a benevolent old man, is in the act of taking the weight of the cross from his shoulders. Further back, on one side, are the centurion and soldiers, and on the other the Virgin and the friends of Jesus: behind them the Thieves are being led through the city-gate. The composition bears a similarity, not to be mistaken, to Raphael's picture, *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia*; and though in this latter work we acknowledge the hand of a more matured artist, yet, in single parts, the comparison is certainly favourable to the older German composition. The figure of Christ, particularly, is more important, more dignified, and more decidedly the central point of interest in the action. Christ's Descent into Hell displays the wildest fancy in the figures of the demons, perfect majesty in that of the Redeemer, and excellent drawing of the nude in the figures of those released. The Body of Christ taken down from the Cross, and mourned over by his followers, is a composition which may unhesitatingly be placed by the side of the most profound works of the great Italian masters. The most perfect grouping is made consistent with the greatest simplicity of design; and, however indifferently the engraver has executed his part, the varied expression of the single figures, and the peculiar grace of the lines and movements, cannot be concealed. When we look at such works we easily comprehend why the later Italians valued Albert Durer's compositions so highly, and how it was that a translation of them, as it were, into Italian was so much desired.

The Lesser Passion.—Of this series the most beautiful compositions are—Christ taking leave of his Mother; distin-



guished by the dignity and beauty of the drapery. Christ washing the feet of his disciples; remarkable for the excellent and simple arrangement of a large number of figures in a small space, whilst the principal group in the foreground is beautiful and full of feeling. Christ praying on the Mount of Olives,—which is extremely simple, and, with the highest dignity and beauty, full of the most profound and tender feeling. Christ appearing to his Mother in her chamber, and to Mary Magdalen as the gardener, after his resurrection, are both, the latter particularly, compositions of peculiar grace and simple beauty.

The Life of the Virgin.—The leading character of the last-mentioned works is grand and tragic; that of this series is graceful and pleasing. In these we are introduced into the more tender relations of family life, where the master shows a refinement of amiable feeling in which he has few equals. It appears almost superfluous to enter into the details of a work so well known, but we shall briefly notice a few compositions of particular beauty. The Golden Gate—Joachim and Anna support one another, after their mournful separation, with the expectation of a joyful futurity; the former is a mild-looking, aged man—Anna full of womanly softness and resignation. In the background the steward and other servants of Joachim, who had come to welcome their lord, are engaged in talking over the event. The birth of the Virgin—a composition of the most attractive *naïveté*. The scene is the lying-in chamber of a Nuremberg house, with a numerous company of women and maidens, offering an interesting comparison with Florentine life, in similar scenes, by Ghirlandajo and others. The Circumcision:—this subject, frequently so disagreeable, and bordering, even in the hands of great masters, on the absurd, here offers a pleasing representation of a characteristic national custom. Numerous as are the figures in this composition, nothing is superfluous: each seems necessarily and individually interested in the action; and the whole is formed into simple and natural groups. The Flight into Egypt:—in contrast to the Circumcision the space is here skilfully filled up with few figures; the pleasant aspect of a thick and fruitful wood, through





ADORATION OF THE TRINITY.

Painted by Albert Durer. Now in the Belvedere at Vienna.

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which the Holy Family are journeying, adds to the charm of this attractive subject. The Repose in Egypt :—a courtyard, with a dwelling built into the ruins of an ancient palace ; the Virgin, with a spindle, sits beside the cradle ; beautiful angels worship at her side ; Joseph is employed in carpenter's work, with a number of little angels, who, in merry sport, assist him in his labour. This is a scene of the most graceful repose and undisturbed serenity. The Death of the Virgin :—the perfect composition, simple division of the principal groups, fine forms, and deep feeling, combine to place this design very high amongst the works of Albert Durer. It has frequently been copied in colours by his followers ; and, in many galleries, pictures of this kind bear his name.

There are also other woodcuts by the master inscribed with the date 1511, such as the well-known and grand composition of the Trinity, several Holy Families, etc.

Between the years 1507 and 1513, but principally in 1512, were executed the large series of small engravings which contain a third representation of the Passion. Among these are many of much merit, the more interesting from the delicate execution of the master's own hand being visible throughout. In order not to weary the reader, I shall refrain from going into the details of single plates.

To this fruitful time, 1511, belongs also one of his most celebrated pictures, the Adoration of the Trinity, see woodcut. It was painted for the chapel of the Landauer Brüderhaus, in Nuremberg, whence, like many of his works, it was removed to Prague, where it was presented [April, 1585]<sup>1</sup> to the Emperor Rodolph II. ; at present it is in the Belvedere at Vienna. Above, in the centre of the picture, are seen the First Person, who holds the Saviour in his arms, while the Holy Spirit is seen above ; some angels spread out the priestly mantle of the Almighty, whilst others hover near with the instruments of Christ's Passion. On the left hand, a little lower down, is a choir of females with the Virgin at their head ; on the right are the male saints with St. John the Baptist. Below all these kneel a host of the blessed, of all ranks and

[<sup>1</sup> See Josef Baader's Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Nürnbergs, in Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' i. 224.]

nations, extending over the whole of this part of the picture. Underneath the whole is a beautiful landscape, and in a corner of the picture the artist himself, richly clothed in a fur mantle, with a tablet next him, with the words "Albertus Durer Noricus faciebat anno a Virginis partu, 1511." The execution here also is masterly and of exceeding delicacy, but again with the same glazing of the colours. The cast of the drapery is in general grand; the figures in the Trinity are dignified, and not without beauty. In other parts the picture is deficient in loftiness of conception, and a few only of the other heads—that of David, for instance—can be called beautiful. In the greater number, even in the figures of the saints, we again find a feeling of common life, bordering on caricature. It may be assumed beyond doubt that he held in particular esteem those pictures into which he introduced his own portrait.

In the Belvedere is a picture of the following year, 1512, the Virgin holding the naked Child in her arms. She has a veil over her head, and blue drapery. Her face is of the form usual with Albert Durer, but of a soft and maidenly character; the Child is beautiful—the countenance particularly so. It is painted with exceeding delicacy of finish, but, unfortunately, with grayish shadows in the flesh.

[In the Trivulzi collection at Milan is a small and well-preserved bust-figure of Christ crowned with thorns, with the monogram and the date of 1514.<sup>1</sup>]

A series of his pictures, to which there is no precise date, may be mentioned here, since the greater number of them must belong to the middle period of the artist's career:—

A Mater Dolorosa, in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 153, standing with folded hands, is beautiful, simple, and dignified.<sup>2</sup>

The Body of our Lord taken down from the Cross and mourned by his followers, is in the chapel of St. Maurice at Nuremberg. It was originally ordered by the family of Holzschuher for the church of St. Sebaldus; it then came

<sup>1</sup> [See Mündler's 'Beiträge,' n. s., p., 30.]

<sup>2</sup> [This picture was painted by an imitator of Durer, and the monogram as well as the date is false.]







THE KNIGHT, DEATH AND THE DEVIL.

An Engraving by Albert Durer.

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into the possession of the Peller family, and at a later period into the Boisserée Gallery. The composition consists of numerous figures, beautifully arranged, particularly the dead body, the drawing of which, though stiff, is of a fine character. There is no great depth of expression in the heads; the background is a rich mountain-landscape. This picture was probably executed between 1515 and 1518.<sup>1</sup> A repetition, which is in the original place in St. Sebaldus, is undoubtedly an old, but not worthless copy; the colouring, particularly in the body of Christ, is, however, much drier.

The portraits of the Emperors Charlemagne and Sigismund, in the castle at Nuremberg, are two powerful and dignified figures, executed in Albert Durer's forcible outline and free painting.<sup>2</sup>

A portrait, in distemper, of Jacob Fuggers, in the Munich Gallery, is a clever picture, No. 51.<sup>3</sup>

Some engravings, which our historical survey now leads us to notice, are more interesting than the greater part of the pictures just described.

The first of these is the celebrated plate of *The Knight, Death, and the Devil*, inscribed with the date 1513 (see woodcut). I believe that I do not exaggerate when I particularize this print as the most important work which the fantastic spirit of German Art has ever produced. The invention may be ascribed unreservedly to the imagination of the master. We see a solitary Knight riding through a dark glen; two demons rise up before him, the most fearful which the human breast can conceive—the personification of thoughts at which the cheek grows pale—the horrible figure of Death on the lame horse, and the bewildering apparition of the Devil. But the Knight, prepared for combat wherever resistance can avail, with a countenance on which Time has imprinted his furrows, and to which care and self-denial have imparted an expression of deep and unconquerable determination, looks steadily forward on the path which he has chosen, and allows these creations of a delusive dream

<sup>1</sup> 'Künstler und Kunstwerke in Deutschland,' vol. i. p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> 'Künstler und Kunstwerke in Deutschland,' vol. i., p. 201, etc.

<sup>3</sup> [This is a clever portrait, but not by Albert Durer.]

to sink again into their visionary kingdom. The masterly execution of the engraving is well known.

Several excellent plates were also executed by Albert Durer in the year 1514. Of these we may first name his "Melancholy." In the seated figure of this grand winged woman, absorbed in thought (see woodcut), he has expressed, in a highly original and intellectual manner, the insufficiency of the human reason, either to explore the secrets of life, fortune, and science, or to unravel those of the past. Symbolical allusions of various kinds lie around, in the shape of the sphere, the book, the crystal polygon, the crucible, the bell, the hour-glass, etc., with many implements of human activity, such as the plane, the hammer, and the rule. The intention of the plate is greatly enhanced by the grandly melancholy character of the landscape background.

A perfect contrast to the Melancholy is to be found in its contemporary print of St. Jerome in his study. There, too, we see the figure of a man sunk in deep thought, and a chamber filled with various apparatus. The whole is arranged with the most ingenious fancy, but pervaded by a serenity and grace which keep aloof all the dreams and visionary forms created by the imagination, and bring before us the simple reality of homely life in its most pleasing form. Gerard Dow, the most feeling of the Dutch genre-painters, has produced nothing so pleasing and touching as this print, which, even in the most trifling accessories, bears the impress of a lofty and gentle nature.

After the year 1520 Albert Durer engraved various plates of Madonnas and Apostles, among which occur additional examples of dignity and fine feeling.

The largest woodcut executed by this master is inscribed with the year 1515. It is the Triumphal Arch of the Emperor Maximilian: a strange work, with an endless variety of historical representations, portraits, and fanciful ornaments. In spite, however, of the immense amount of details, the effect of the whole is very stately. To the architectural parts the artist has given the most grotesque and fantastic forms, yet they are often composed with singular ingenuity and skill: this applies particularly to the principal columns,



# MELANCHOLY

Engraving by Albert Dürer

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BORDER FROM THE PRAYER-BOOK OF MAXIMILIAN.

Drawn by Albert Durer. In the Royal Library, Munich.

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BORDER FROM THE PRAYER BOOK OF MAXIMILIAN.  
Drawn by Albert Dürer. In the Royal Library, Munich.

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which are arranged in pairs ; their composition is remarkable throughout for its strict consistency and its reference to the office assigned to them ; they have not the weight of a continuous entablature to support, but in reality each pair only sustains isolated niches, which contain statues. The ornaments, taken singly, are very tasteful, and drawn with much force and spirit ; the series of portraits—which represent the predecessors and ancestors of the Emperor, from Julius Cæsar and the Merovingian Clodovic, with all his kindred—is very remarkable for the extraordinary variety and character of the heads, which the artist, having no existing originals to work from, was obliged himself to invent. The historical representations relate to the most brilliant events of the Emperor's life, but in them we trace the hand of the imperial historiographer who arranged, rather than that of the artist who executed them. Very few of these compositions are remarkable for the qualities which we look for in works of art, yet there are parts, particularly where the action consists of few figures, which are very striking. The whole work proves in a brilliant manner the singular versatility of this master's powers.

In the year 1515 Albert Durer executed also the celebrated borders for the Prayer-book of the Emperor Maximilian, see woodcuts, now in the Royal Library at Munich. In these spirited pen-and-ink drawings the fancy of the artist revels in perfect liberty, sometimes serious and dignified, sometimes gracefully playful, sometimes humorous and gay. Here his task was not to represent a given subject of particular depth of meaning, but merely to fill up tastefully an allotted space: and if he does not always seem to keep in mind the full meaning of the text which he has adorned with his arabesques, still the play of fancy is neither whimsical nor extravagant, the humour never degenerates into vulgarity, as is often the case in this kind of ornament ; and the combined effect makes so pleasing an impression on the spectator that criticism is content to be silent.

Two of his pictures in the Florentine Gallery of the Uffizj, which represent the Apostles Philip and James, bear the date of 1516. They were gifts from the Emperor Ferdinand III.,

in the middle of the seventeenth century, to the Duke of Tuscany. Both are painted in tempera, and powerfully modelled; the character is forcible and energetic.

Of the same year is the portrait of his master, Wohlge-muth, in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 139, a strangely sharp and bony countenance. It is of masterly painting, in a draughtsmanlike style.

The fantastic composition, consisting of four woodcuts of a pillar on which a Satyr is seated, was executed in 1517.

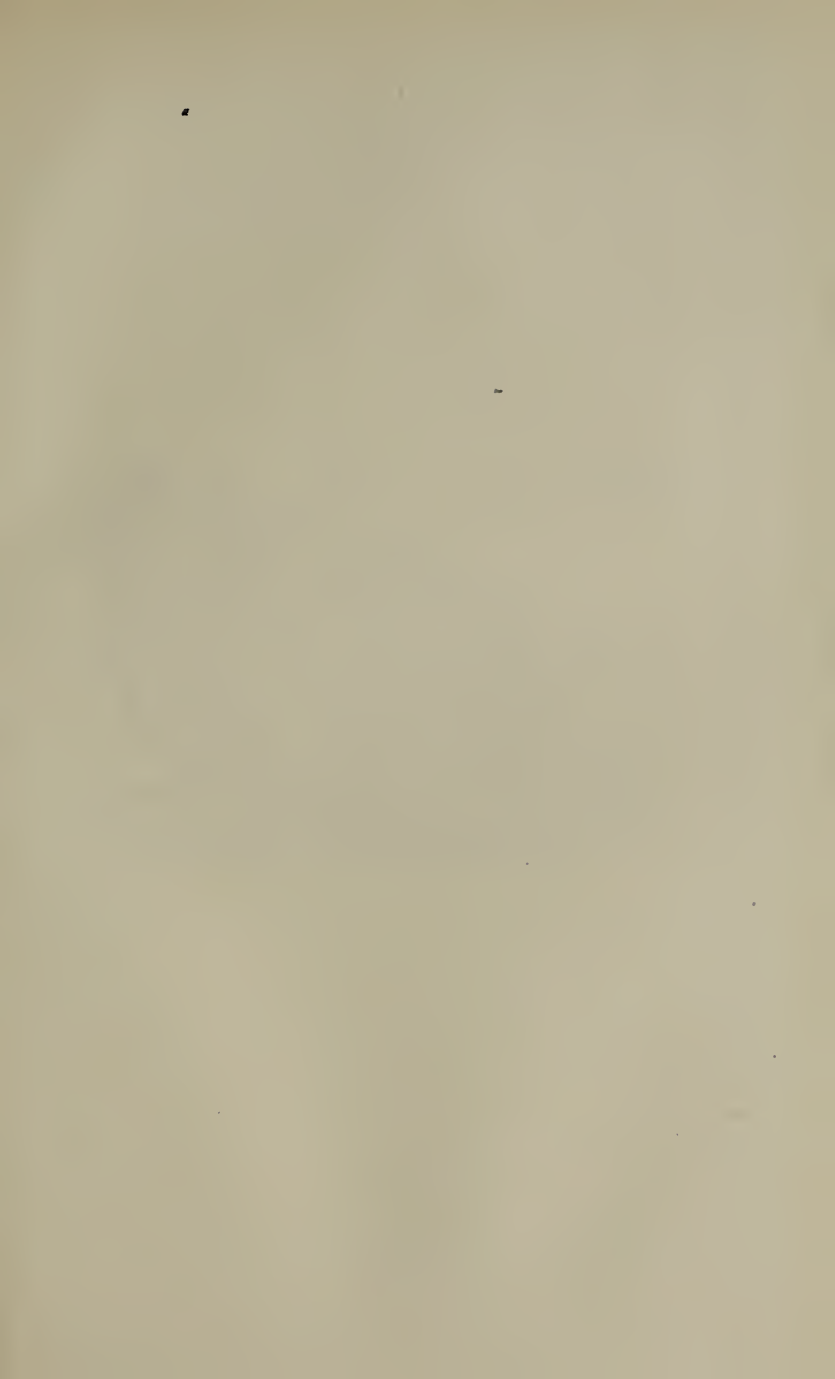
In 1518 occurs the charming woodcut of the Virgin as Queen of Heaven, surrounded by Angels.

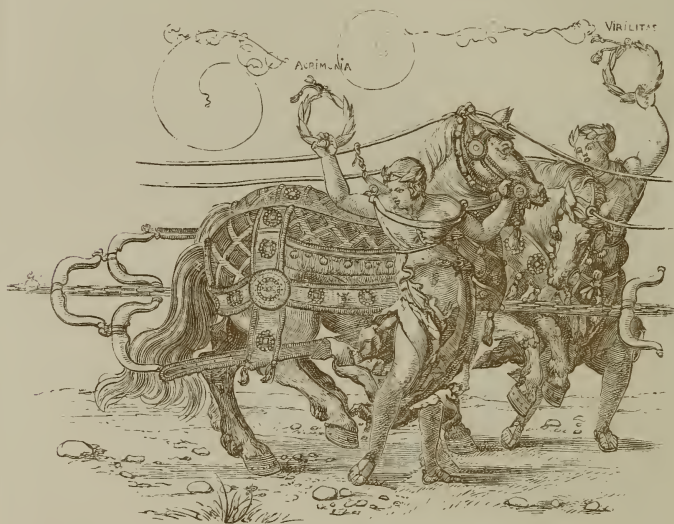
A Lucretia, the size of life, in the Munich Gallery (No. 98), was taken from some very unattractive original in Nuremberg. It is, however, of masterly modelling in all parts, and worthy of Leonardo da Vinci.

In the year 1519 Albert Durer executed a portrait of the Emperor Maximilian; a half-length, with a pomegranate, the imperial symbol, in the left hand. It is in the Gallery of the Belvedere in Vienna. The conception is fine, and the execution, in a warm tone, very careful. A good original repetition was in the collection of the late Lord Northwick at Thirlestain Hall.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1520-21 he undertook a journey to the Netherlands. His journal is still preserved, and tells us of the great honours with which he was received there by the native artists. He appears at this time as a man conscious of his long and ardent labours, and anxious to derive from those labours only such advantages as every honourable man must wish to enjoy. This journey, however, it appears, must have exercised an important influence on his tendency in art, and perhaps opened his eyes to the peculiarity of his manner. There are at least changes in the feeling and treatment visible in his later works, and Melancthon tells us, from the painter's own confession, that the beauty of nature had not unfolded itself to him until a late period; that he had then only learned that simplicity is the greatest charm of art; that he sighed over the motley pictures of his early

<sup>1</sup> 'Treasures of Art,' etc., vol. iii. p. 210.





From Albert Durer's Woodcut of the "CAR OF MAXIMILIAN," in the British Museum  
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days, and mourned that he could no longer hope to emulate the great prototype—Nature.<sup>1</sup>

In the Gallery of the Belvedere, in Vienna, is a singular picture by Albert Durer, of the year 1520, which differs in a striking manner from the rest of his works. In execution and conception it bears a likeness, not to be mistaken, to the works of the artists of the Low Countries of that period, particularly to those of Quentin Massys. It was probably executed whilst he was on the journey, under the influence of the new objects around him. The subject is the Virgin, a half-length figure in a fur mantle; the Child, naked, with a string of amber round his neck, is on her lap; on the green table before her lies a cut lemon. The head of the Virgin is particularly soft and mild; the Child is not remarkably beautiful.<sup>2</sup>

In 1522 he published the series of woodcuts which form the Triumphal Car of the Emperor Maximilian, see woodcuts. The allegory is rather poor, and the elaborate ornaments of the car are whimsical and even tasteless; on the other hand, the allegorical female figures, despite the disagreeable crumpled appearance of the drapery, display motives of extraordinary beauty, such as might have proceeded from the graceful simplicity of Raphael. This circumstance also must not be overlooked with reference to the change in the tendency of Albert Durer's feeling in his later time.<sup>3</sup>

The two half-length pictures of SS. Joseph and Joachim, and Simeon and Lazarus, in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets,

<sup>1</sup> Memini virum excellentem ingenio et virtute Albertum Durerum pictorem dicere, se juvenem floridas et maxime varias picturas amasse, seque admiratorem suorum operum valde letatum esse, contemplatem hanc varietatem in sua aliquâ picturâ. Postea se senem coepisse intueri Naturam, et illius nativam faciem intueri conatum esse, eamque simplicitatem tunc intellexisse summum artis decus esse. Quam cum non prorsus adsequi posset, dicebat se jam non esse admiratorem operum suorum ut olim, sed sæpe genere intuentem suas tabulas, et cogitantem de infirmitate sua. Etc. (Epistolæ Ph. Melanchthonis, etc., Ep. 47, p. 42 E. apud Epist. D. Erasmi Roter. et Ph. Melanch. Londini, 1642, fol.)

<sup>2</sup> [This picture, No. 20, Room I, second floor, bears a false signature and date, and is by a Fleming, imitating Durer.]

<sup>3</sup> [This series was drawn under Durer's supervision by his assistants, amongst others by Hans von Kulmbach, in 1518. See Moriz Thausing's 'Laurea,' in Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' ii., 178.]

123, 127, are of the year 1523. They formed the side-wings of an altarpiece [painted for the Jabach family at Cologne, the outer sides of which are in the Cologne and Frankfort Galleries].<sup>1</sup> The colouring is beautiful, the expression dignified, but they are not essentially different from his earlier works.

Scarce as are the genuine pictures by Albert Durer in England, I may observe that a Nativity by him, under the erroneous name of Herri de Bles—a small but fine picture—is in the collection of the Marquis of Exeter at Burleigh House.

During this period he engraved on copper those remarkable portraits of his celebrated contemporaries—Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, the Elector Frederick the Wise, Pirckheimer, Melancthon, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and others—which are distinguished by the most spirited conception of life, as well as by an execution of wonderful delicacy. This was the time at which religious discord had burst over Germany, and when Nuremberg especially was severely visited by it: consequently the desire for religious works of art may naturally have decreased. It is probable, however, that Albert Durer, whose mind had imbibed the new doctrine with the deepest devotion, may have laboured with more satisfaction in the province of every-day life than in many of the subjects which art had previously treated. We are indebted, at any rate, to these circumstances for a series of most admirable works, which without them would probably never have been called into existence.

Three excellent portraits in oil exist, of the year 1526. One in the Gallery of the Belvedere, at Vienna, represents a citizen of Nuremberg, John Kleeberger: it is a pale, manly head, with large black eyes, altogether of a peculiar beauty; the nose only is rather small; the shadows are unfortunately of a strong gray tone. The second, once in the possession of the Holzschuher family, [now in the Germanic Museum at] Nuremberg, represents one of their ancestors, Jerome

<sup>1</sup> [Frankfort, Städel, No. 104: Job's wife pours water on Job's head. Cologne Museum, No. 8: A piper and a drummer. The centre of this altarpiece is missing.]







THE APOSTLES MARK AND PAUL.  
By Albert Durer. In the Munich Gallery.

Holzschuher, painted at the age of fifty-seven. The expression of this head is very fine and dignified; the eyes are brilliant, and, notwithstanding the white hair, the face appears to possess the vigour of youth. Strictly speaking, this picture is painted in the master's thin glazed manner, but it is extraordinarily well executed. It combines the most perfect modelling with the freest handling of the colours, and is certainly the most beautiful of all this master's portraits, since it plainly shows how well he could seize Nature in her happiest moments, and represent her with irresistible power. The third portrait is that of Jacob Muffel, Burgomaster of Nuremberg, for a long time in the collection of Count Schönborn at Pommersfelden, near Bamberg. It is truthfully conceived, and of masterly modelling, but somewhat heavy and gray in colour.

[Of 1526 likewise is a Madonna at the Pitti, of a less pleasing character than any that was ever produced by Durer.]

The same year, 1526, was distinguished by the two pictures, corresponding with each other, of the four Apostles, John and Peter, Mark and Paul, see woodcut; the figures are the size of life. This, which is the master's grandest work, and the last of importance executed by him, is now (Nos. 71 and 76) in the Munich Gallery. We know with certainty that it was presented by Albert Durer himself to the council of his native city in remembrance of his career as an artist, and at the same time as conveying to his fellow-citizens an earnest and lasting exhortation suited to that stormy period. In the year 1627, however, the pictures were allowed to pass into the hands of the Elector Maximilian I. of Bavaria. The inscriptions selected by the painter himself might have given offence to a Catholic prince, and were therefore cut off and joined to the copies by Johr Fischer, which were intended to indemnify the city of Nuremberg for the loss of the originals. These copies are still in the collection of the Landauer Brüderhaus at Nuremberg.

These pictures are the fruit of the deepest thought which then stirred the mind of Albert Durer, and are executed with overpowering force. Finished as they are, they form the first complete work of art produced by Protestantism.

As the inscription, taken from the Gospels and Epistles of the Apostles, contains pressing warnings not to swerve from the word of God, nor to believe in the doctrines of false prophets, so the figures themselves represent the steadfast and faithful guardians of that holy Scripture which they bear in their hands. There is also an old tradition, handed down from the master's own times,<sup>1</sup> that these figures represent the four temperaments. This notion is confirmed by the pictures themselves ; and though, at first sight, it may appear to rest on a mere accidental combination, it serves, in truth, to carry out more completely the artist's thought, and gives to the figures greater individuality. It shows how every quality of the human mind may be called into the service of the Divine Word. Thus, in the first picture, we see the whole force of the mind absorbed in contemplation, and we are taught that true watchfulness in behalf of the Scripture must begin by devotion to its study. St. John stands in front, the open book in his hand ; his high forehead and his whole countenance bear the impress of earnest and deep thought. This is the melancholic temperament, which does not shrink from the most profound inquiry. Behind him St. Peter bends over the book, and gazes earnestly at its contents ; a hoary head full of meditative repose. This figure represents the phlegmatic temperament, which reviews its own thoughts in tranquil reflection. The second picture shows the outward operation of the conviction thus attained and its relation to daily life. St. Mark, in the background, is the man of sanguine temperament ; he looks boldly round, and appears to speak to his hearers with animation, earnestly urging them to share those advantages which he has himself derived from the holy Scriptures. St Paul, on the contrary, in the foreground holds the book and sword in his hands ; he looks angrily and severely over his shoulder, ready to defend the Word, and to annihilate the blasphemer with the sword of God's power. He is the representative of the choleric temperament. Then what masterly finish there is in the execution ! such as is only suited to a subject of such sub-

<sup>1</sup> Neudörffer, ' Nachrichten, n. s., p. 37.

lime meaning. What dignity and sublimity pervade these heads of varied character! What simplicity and majesty in the lines of the drapery! What sublime and statue-like repose in their movements! Here we no longer find any disturbing element: there are no small angular breaks in the folds, no arbitrary or fantastic features in the countenance, or even in the fall of the hair. The colouring, too, is perfect: true to nature in its power and warmth. There is scarcely any trace of the bright glazing, or of those sharply-defined forms, but everywhere a free, pure impasto. Well might the artist now close his eyes. He had in this picture attained the summit of art: here he stands side by side with the greatest masters known in history.

Albert Durer died, as we saw, in 1528. I know of no important work of a later date than that just described. His portrait, in a woodcut of the year 1527, represents him earnest and serious in demeanour, as would naturally follow from his advancing age and the pressure of eventful times. His head is no longer adorned with those richly-flowing locks, on which, in his earlier days, he had set so high a value, as we learn from his pictures and from jests still recorded of him. That excellence to which he had raised German art in his last master-work passed away with him, and centuries saw no sign of its revival.<sup>1</sup>

A large number of pictures in galleries and private collections throughout Europe bearing the name of Albert Durer are here purposely omitted, owing to the number of painters, often of no mean technical merit, but of no power of invention, who executed pictures from the engravings and woodcuts of this great master, which are systematically given out for his original works. No man has had so many pictures erroneously assigned to him as Albert Dürer.

<sup>1</sup> Among the drawings in the collection of the Archduke Charles of Austria there is a study of drapery for the figure of St. Paul, executed so early as 1523. This and three other finely-draped figures in the same collection, and of the same year, are beautifully rendered. Hence it is evident that, directly after the journey to the Netherlands, Albert Durer endeavoured to lay aside his capricious style in the cast of his drapery, and was eager to adopt one more grand and noble, and grounded upon the study of Nature.

His scholars and followers imbibed, as was often the case in other schools, the external characteristics of his manner, particularly the peculiar motives of his drawing, without in general catching the profound spirit of their master. But even among them the fantastic principle of art, in particular instances, was carried out with wonderful success. Most of these artists, like himself, are known both as painters and engravers, and many of their designs exist also in woodcuts.

One of the most pleasing of Albert Durer's scholars is HANS VON KULMBACH, whose name was HANS WAGNER, died 1540, and who came to him from the school of Jacob Walch.<sup>1</sup> Upon the whole, he adheres faithfully to the style of Albert Durer; but, while far below him in power of conception, he surpasses him in taste and pure feeling for nature. He is also more equal in warmth and harmony of colour.

[Hans von Kulmbach was an assistant to Durer for many years after his matriculation. Von Lützow describes an Epiphany, with the date of 1511, belonging to Mr. Lippman, at Vienna, which shows that Hans was at that time an independent master; whilst Thausing proves that he was in Durer's atelier between 1511 and 1513, as well as in 1518.]<sup>2</sup>

Among his numerous pictures preserved in Nuremberg are two remarkable panels in the chapel of St. Maurice—wing-pictures, with figures of saints—one of which, No. 57, especially, is very clever. In St. Sebaldus, also, there is a very remarkable large picture. It consists of three panels: in the centre one is the Virgin enthroned with the Child, and angels bearing musical instruments; SS. Catherine and Barbara stand beside them; other saints, and the kneeling figure of the donor, Lawrence Tucher, are on the side pictures. It is in every respect the master-piece of this painter.<sup>3</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> [See Neudörffer, n. s., p. 36.]

<sup>2</sup> [See 'Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,' vi., 329, and Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' ii., 178 and 180.]

<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding Sandrart's assertion that he possessed Durer's design for the picture, I find the composition so different from him, that I believe the whole belongs to Kulmbach. Compare 'Kunst und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. i. p. 231. [Yet Durer's drawing of the centre of this altarpiece is in the Berlin Museum; it bears Durer's monogram and the date of 1511. See Thausing's 'Laurea,' etc., in Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' ii., 179.]



the Munich Gallery, Nos. 40, 43, 46, 58, there are pictures by Hans von Kulmbach of beautiful and brilliant effect, with very excellent single parts. In the Städel Institute at Frankfort there is a good altarpiece by the same master; and in the monastery of Heilsbronn, between Anspach and Nuremberg, there are some pleasing figures of saints by his hand.

[In the St. Gumpertus Kirche, at Anspach, we find Kulmbach's altarpiece representing the Trinity, with the Virgin and angels, the patron Matthias von Gulpen, and St. Peter. It was executed to an order sent to Durer.]<sup>1</sup>

HEINRICH ALDEGREVER, born at [Paderborn about 1502, still living at Soest in 1555],<sup>2</sup> is, as a painter, a less important master. Pictures by him are very rare, but he was a very clever engraver. [Most authentic is his picture of Christ sitting on his tomb (1529) in the Museum at Prague.] A Last Judgment, in the Berlin Gallery, deserves notice. The upper group, of Christ with the Virgin and John the Baptist, is very peculiar; their draperies are agitated by the storm of the Last Day. The angels with the trumpets, and the fantastic figures of the demons among the damned, are of merit. The host of naked figures of the dead who have risen are certainly very drily painted, yet there is something striking in their solemn measured movements. The saints in the foreground also are dignified figures. The portraits of the donors are full of life. A clever portrait of a youth is in the Lichtenstein Gallery at Vienna [dated 1544]; another, of an older man (1551), in the Museum at Berlin; [yet another of 1541, in the Brunswick Museum, and one of Count Philip of Waldeck, dated 1535, in the Art Union of Breslau.]

Numerous pictures by HANS SCHÄUFFELIN, died 1549, are dispersed in various places. He was a clever and dexterous artist, who imitated the manner of his master, and, in his best pictures, successfully. But he is very unequal, and many of his works are very slight productions. Among his paintings preserved in Nuremberg, a St. Bridget, in the chapel of St. Maurice, appeared to me to deserve most notice:

<sup>1</sup> [Consult Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' i., 21, 361 and ii., 181.]

<sup>2</sup> [See A. Woltmann in Meyer's Allgemeines 'Kunst Lexikon.']

it is prettily and neatly painted, and has some pretension to grandeur of style. There is also, in the castle, the subject of Christ mocked, of the year 1517, an animated picture of very large size, in tempera, and unfortunately injured in parts. A small picture with numerous figures, also at Nuremberg, representing the History of Judith, reminds us, in some respects, of Schöffelin's more gifted fellow-pupil, Altdorfer. The same composition, painted in tempera upon the wall, is in the Town-hall at Nordlingen, Schöffelin's native town, and the chief theatre of his pictorial activity. His finest work is an altarpiece in the principal church, which he executed in 1521, for Nicholas Ziegler, the Vice-Chancellor of Charles V. The centre—a Pieta—is, in point of feeling, sense of beauty, clearness of golden tone, and conscientious carrying out, one of the finest pictures of the German school of this period. The saints also, on the wings, are dignified figures, and the St. Barbara of remarkable beauty. Four other pictures by him in the same church may be also classed among his best works.<sup>1</sup> The clever designs for the woodcuts in the *Teuerdank*<sup>2</sup> are by his hand as well.

BARTHEL BEHAM, born at Nuremberg [in 1502, was late in life a favourite with the Duke William the IVth of Bavaria, who sent him at his own expense to Italy, where he died suddenly in 1540].<sup>3</sup> His earlier works are quite in the manner of Albert Durer. As a rule, his figures are coarsely realistic, broad, and slight in execution, and of lively but somewhat crude colouring. Pictures by him in this style include—a Christ bearing the Cross, in the chapel of St. Maurice; Christ on the Mount of Olives, and several single saints, in the Berlin Gallery. During his stay in Italy he attempted, though with little success, to adopt the transalpine style of art. Specimens of this class are the Miracle of a Woman raised from the Dead by the True Cross, of the year 1530,

<sup>1</sup> See further in 'Kunst und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. i. pp. 349 and 355.

<sup>2</sup> This is the title of a long German poem by Melchior Pfinszinger, which celebrates in an allegorical form the adventures of the Emperor Maximilian I. It appeared in Nuremberg in 1517.

<sup>3</sup> [Neudörffer, n. s., p. 40; A. Woltmann in the catalogue of the Fürstentum coll., p. 12; and Rettberg's Nürnberg's 'Kunstleben,' p. 142.]

with several animated heads ; and Marcus Curtius leaping into the Gulf, of the year 1540, with gaudy and overladen antique architecture—both in the Munich Gallery, Nos. 72 and 98. A number of portraits of Bavarian princes and princesses, in the Gallery at Schleissheim, show that though somewhat crude in general keeping, he was an admirable portrait artist. He is more important, however, as an engraver. His portraits of the Emperor Charles V., and his brother the Emperor Ferdinand I., are well known for their fine conception and masterly treatment.

HANS SEBALD BEHAM, a [brother] of the foregoing, born at Nuremberg in 1500, had the advantage first of his brother's instructions in painting and engraving, and then of Albert Durer's. In 1540 the unsteadiness of his life compelled him to leave Nuremberg, when he migrated to Frankfort, where he died [November 22], 1550.<sup>1</sup> He possessed singular powers of invention, generally exercised on secular, and often on coarsely humorous subjects, occasionally also on those of a vulgar and indecorous class. At the same time he was not deficient in feeling for beauty and grace, and was an excellent draughtsman. Of his oil pictures one only is known, now in the Louvre, executed 1534, in the form of a table, for Albrecht, Archbishop of Mayence. It represents, in small but spirited figures, scenes from the life of David, and is carefully painted in a warm and clear tone.<sup>2</sup> Five miniatures executed in a prayer-book for the same ecclesiastic, in 1531, now in the Royal Library at Aschaffenburg in ancient Franconia, are evidences of his skill in this line of art. But his most important artistic phase was that of engraving. He handled the graver with spirit and lightness ; and several of his numerous plates—for instance, his *Patience*, *Melancholy*, *St. Sebaldus*, his *History of the Prodigal Son*, and his twelve engravings, with *Dancers at a Peasant Wedding*—are among the finest specimens of the master on a small scale. His powers of invention are best seen in his designs for woodcuts. His triumphal entry of Charles V. into Munich, and his two processions of soldiers, are the

<sup>1</sup> [Neudörffer n. s., p. 40.]

<sup>2</sup> 'Kunst und Künstler in Paris,' p. 549.

cleverest examples art has preserved to us of the manners and customs of that time.

[ALBERT ALTDORFER was born before 1488, and settled at Regensburg, where he purchased the citizenship in 1505, and died in 1538.]<sup>1</sup> He is one of the most important and original of all Albert Durer's scholars and imitators. He seized the fantastic tendency of the time with a poetic feeling at once rich and pleasing, and he developed it so as to attain a perfection in this sort of romantic painting, such as no other artist has ever reached. In general he knows so well how to give to his representations the peculiar charm of the fabulous, and sets before the spectator what is marvellous in nature in such fulness, that we willingly give ourselves up to his magic influence, and, stopping short on the way to the highest perfection, we repose with pleasure among these graceful dreams. As a draughtsman he displayed no great force, and is frequently deficient in good taste ; he is, however, an excellent colourist. In his later period he was strongly influenced by Italian art. Altdorfer's [earliest work is a Crucifixion, dated 1506, in the Landauer Brüderhaus at Nuremberg ; the next earliest (1507), a small picture of St. Francis and St. Jerome, in the Berlin Museum. Next to these is a landscape, dated 1510 (No. 777 in the Munich Gallery), in which St. George fights with the Dragon. Altdorfer's best and most celebrated picture] is in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 169. "It represents the Victory of Alexander the Great over Darius, [and was painted in 1529 for Duke William IV. of Bavaria.] The costume is that of the artist's own day, as it would be treated in the chivalrous poems of the middle ages—man and horse are sheathed in plate and mail, with surcoats of gold or embroidery ; the chanfrons upon the heads of the horses, the glittering lances and stirrups, and the variety of the weapons, form altogether a scene of indescribable splendour and richness. There is no blood or other disgusting object—no scattered limbs or distortions deform this picture ;—only in the immediate foreground, if we examine very closely, we

<sup>1</sup> [See C. W. Neumann in Meyer's Lexikon, i. 540.]

see under the feet of the charging hosts, and the hoofs of their war-horses, several lines of bodies lying closely together, as in a web, forming as it were a groundwork to this world of war and arms—of dazzling weapons and of still brighter fame and chivalry. It is, in truth, a little world on a few square feet of canvas; the hosts of combatants, who advance on all sides against each other, are innumerable, and the view into the background appears interminable. In the distance is the ocean, with high rocks, and a rugged island between them; ships of war appear in the offing, and a whole fleet of vessels—on the left the moon is setting—on the right the sun rising; both shining through the opening clouds—a clear and striking image of the events represented. The armies are arranged in rank and column, without the strange attitudes, contrasts, and distortions, generally exhibited in so-called battle-pieces. How indeed would this have been possible with such a vast multitude of figures? The whole is in the plain and severe, or it may be the stiff, manner of the old style. At the same time, the character and execution of these little figures is most masterly and profound. And what variety, what expression there is, not merely in the character of the single warriors and knights, but in the hosts themselves! Here crowds of black archers rush down, troop after troop, from the mountain with the rage of a foaming torrent; on the other side, high upon the rocks in the far distance, a scattered crowd of flying men are turning round in a defile. The point of the greatest interest stands out brilliantly from the centre of the whole,—Alexander and Darius, both in armour of burnished gold: Alexander, on Bucephalus, with his lance in rest, advances far before his men, and presses on the flying Darius, whose charioteer has already fallen on his white horses, and who looks back upon his conqueror with all the despair of a vanquished monarch.”<sup>1</sup> It may moreover be remarked that the landscape rivals the works of the contemporary Netherlanders, Patenier and others, or rather it surpasses them in truth and grandeur. A rocky mountain in the centre of the

<sup>1</sup> Werke von Friedrich Schlegel, Wien, 1828, vol. vi., p. 166.



picture, with beautiful hanging woods, is particularly good, above is a castle and a path leading to it; at the foot of the mountain, a ruin illuminated by the setting sun. This ruin is painted with so true a feeling for the beauties of nature, that a power of such high order would of itself have qualified the artist for the most masterly productions. A fine landscape in the Landauer Brüderhaus at Nuremberg shows him to have been the creator of landscape-painting in Germany.

Another picture by this artist, in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 138, is inscribed with his monogram and the date 1526. It represents the history of Susanna. The garden with the bath, on the left, and a mass of varied architecture on the right, make up a rich and fanciful composition.

There is a good picture from the hand of this master in the chapel of St. Maurice at Nuremberg. It represents a man and two women occupied in drawing the body of St. Quirinus out of the water, and, in fact, forms a well-arranged *genre* scene. The thickly-covered banks of the river are another instance of his happy conception of nature. The light of the setting sun—a golden tint surrounded by a circle of clouds, melting away into shades of red—is full of imagination. A *chef-d'œuvre* of the master is an altarpiece with wings, in the Augsburg Gallery, executed in 1517. The interior pictures represent the Crucifixion, the exterior the Annunciation. This latter subject exhibits capital figures, and fine features and expression.<sup>1</sup>

Another picture by him, a Nativity of the Virgin, shows him to be a skilful architectural painter as regards lines and aerial perspective. It is in the same gallery.<sup>2</sup>

Among the pictures by this master at Regensburg, an Adoration of the Shepherds, in the collection of the Historical Society, is remarkable for its dramatic character.<sup>3</sup>

I know of but one picture by him in England, of large size, in the collection of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell. It represents the Saviour taking leave of his Mother, and is

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunst und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. ii. p. 38, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 38, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 123.



remarkable for its powerful colouring, and for the developed character of the landscape.<sup>1</sup> [There are two characteristic panels by him in the gallery of Vienna.]

The engravings by Altdorfer are not inferior to his paintings in invention and clever execution; [some of the buildings which he planned after his appointment to the office of town architect at Regensburg are still in existence, and German patriots may still boast that his fortifications made the city of his adoption an effectual bulwark against the Turks (1529).<sup>2</sup>]

A master-work of such interest as Altdorfer's *Battle of Alexander* naturally produced many imitations. Thus, in the Munich Gallery, there is a picture by MARTIN FESELE, of about 1530, of which the subject is the siege of Rome under Porsenna. This composition possesses the same richness, and the figures are as fine and evince as much taste as those in Altdorfer's picture, but it is inferior to the latter work in poetic feeling.<sup>3</sup>

GEORGE PENCZ, born at Nuremberg 1500, died at Breslau 1550. This painter was one of Albert Durer's most gifted scholars, combining excellent drawing, and clear, warm, and vigorous colouring, with a felicitous power of conception, and a decided feeling for beauty. Later in life he went to Italy, where he zealously studied the works of Raphael, without however degenerating into the tasteless and mistaken manner of most of the Netherlandish and German painters who attempted to Italianize their style.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, he never departed from his own original feeling, but only gave a higher character to the taste of his compositions and to his drawing. In the art of engraving, where he occupies the first place among Albert Durer's followers, he also attained

<sup>1</sup> See 'Treasures,' etc., vol. ii., p. 463, where the picture is erroneously attributed to Albert Durer.

<sup>2</sup> [Neumann, u. s. Erhart Altdorfer, Albrecht's brother, was court painter at Schwerin; but his pictures are all missing.]

<sup>3</sup> [Fesele, Hans Burgkmair, and G. Bren were all employed by William IV. of Bavaria to paint the series of which Altdorfer's battle is one.]

<sup>4</sup> [George Pencz cannot be acquitted of the charge of Italianizing his style, nor is it quite correct to confine his studies in Italy to the works of Raphael. He looked at many painters in Italy, and particularly at the Venetians, as we see by a portrait at the Uffizi, dated 1544, erroneously supposed to be his own likeness.]

such perfection under the guidance of Marc Antonio as closely to approach the great Italian in several plates. In the great rarity of his historical pictures, we can only judge from his engravings of the success with which he treated both sacred and profane history, allegory and mythology, scenes from common life, and the department of ornamentation. And a number of portraits still existing serve to show that for animation of conception, excellent drawing and modelling, and warm transparent colouring, he was one of the first German painters in this line.

An historical picture in his German manner is a St. Jerome, in the chapel of St. Maurice at Nuremberg, No. 76. It is a capital work—at the same time I am inclined to attribute the original invention, which has been repeated by several painters, to Quentin Massys.

An excellent picture, in his Italian manner, is Venus and Cupid, in the gallery at Munich, No. 95. It is graceful, pure in form, and well modelled. The following are masterly portraits by him:—a young man, No. 585, and the painter Schwetzer and his wife, Nos. 582 and 587, in the Berlin Museum; General Sebaldus Schirmer, No. 77, in the Landauer Brüderhaus at Nuremberg; and Erasmus of Rotterdam, after Holbein, at Windsor Castle. Amongst the engravings by Pencz, a series of plates from the history of Tobit are remarkable for beautiful and tender feeling. They combine, very happily and simply, the German homeliness and naïveté of conception with that higher grace which may be considered as an inheritance from Raphael. What he also accomplished as an engraver in the way of portraits is proved by that of the Elector John Frederick the Generous, of Saxony. How entirely he had adopted the manner of Marc Antonio is seen in his large plate of the Taking of Carthage, from a drawing by Julio Romano, the only instance in which he did not work from his own compositions.

JACOB BINK was born at Cologne either 1490 or 1504. Judging from his engravings, he must have formed himself from Albert Durer; he also studied in Italy. Further than this we know nothing of his life, except that he was in the service of the King of Denmark as a portrait-painter previous

to the year 1546;<sup>1</sup> that he spent some time at Königsberg, at the court of Albrecht of Hohenzollern, Duke of Prussia, and was sent by that prince, in 1549, to the Netherlands, for the purpose of erecting a monument to the duke's late wife; that he entered regularly into his service in 1551, and died at Königsberg about the year 1560. It is singular that no historical picture by him is known; also of the portraits attributed to him I have seen only the one in the gallery at Vienna. It is of energetic conception and delicate drawing, and of cool but harmonious colouring. In the *Garderobe* at Copenhagen are preserved, as I understand, portraits by him of Christian III. of Denmark, and of his Queen Dorothea; in that of Königsberg, those of Duke Albrecht, of the duke's first wife, and of the Chancellor Fries, dated 1549. His engravings are very unequal in merit.<sup>2</sup> The best of them give evidence of a first-rate artist, who, like Pencz, succeeded in combining German feeling and treatment with the nobler forms and purer taste of the Italians, and who treated subjects of the most various kinds with no common excellence. The following are among his best plates: Christ with the Woman of Samaria (Bartsch, No. 12); the Virgin (No. 20); the portraits of Christian II., King of Denmark, and Elizabeth his queen (Nos. 91, 92); and the portrait of himself. He also frequently copied the works of other engravers.

The style of Albert Durer, as may be easily supposed, was also variously called into practice in the form of miniature-painting; in Nuremberg especially, by the numerous family of Glockenthon, among whom GEORGE GLOCKENTHON the elder, born 1492, died 1553, and his son NICHOLAS, died 1560, were the most distinguished.<sup>3</sup> A missal and a prayer-book, with miniatures by the son, executed for Albrecht, Archbishop of Mayence, for the first of which the artist received five hundred florins, is in the Royal Library at Asch-

<sup>1</sup> [Jacob Bink's portraits of Christian and his Queen are engraved with the date of 1525.]

<sup>2</sup> See Bartsch, 'Le Peintre Graveur,' vol. viii., p. 149, etc., for an account of this master, and of the engravings and woodcuts justly attributed to him.

<sup>3</sup> See Johann Neudörfer's 'Nachrichten alten Künstlern in Nürnberg, Campe,' p. 41, etc.

affenburg. He appears there as an artist of first-rate technical attainments, but of feeble powers of invention and uncertain drawing.<sup>1</sup>

At this time there was also another painter, living in the northern part of Franconia, who occupied an independent position by the side of Albert Durer and his school. This was MATTHEW GRUNEWALD, born probably in Frankfort, and who established himself in Aschaffenburg, where he was employed chiefly by the Archbishop Albrecht of Mayence. Of the other circumstances of his life little or nothing is known. At the same time it may be affirmed with certainty that he died, at the earliest, towards the year 1530.<sup>2</sup> His works testify to his being, after Albert Durer and Holbein, the greatest German painter of this period. He takes a happy halfway position between the Franconian and the Swabian schools, and must have owed his artistic education to each. The feeling for style in the arrangement of his works, wherein he followed, though with a certain exercise of freedom, the old rules of symmetry—the dignity of his male characters, and the firmness of his drawing, show his affinity to the Franconian school: his greater feeling for beauty, especially in female figures—the fulness of his forms—the purer taste of his drapery, which is less broken up by sharp folds—his more careful modelling—frequently harmonious arrangement of colour, in which a dark violet, a deep crimson, and a luminous green prevail—and, finally, the better union of his outlines and forms—all these qualities exhibit the decided influence of the school of Swabia. The proportions of his figures are generally somewhat short—the flesh-tones of his men of a pale brown—those of his women and children of a pleasing reddish, clear colour. His most important and only positively authentic work is an altarpiece, consisting of six panels, which he executed by commission for Albrecht, Archbishop of Mayence, for the church of SS. Maurice and Magdalen, at Halle on the Saale. After the introduction of the reformed doctrine at Halle this work was transferred to the conventual church of SS. Peter and Alexander at Aschaff-

<sup>1</sup> 'Kunst und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. ii., p. 332, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Passavant in 'Kunstblatt,' 1841, p. 430, etc.

enburg, and was next placed in the gallery of that town, whence it was transferred in 1836 to the gallery at Munich.<sup>1</sup> The centre picture, No. 69, represents the Conversion of St. Maurice by St. Erasmus—the latter being a portrait of the archbishop ;—and the wings contain the figures of St. Lazarus, No. 68—the Magdalen, No. 63—St. Martha, No. 70—St. Chrysostom, No. 75—and St. Valentinian. The last-named is still in the church at Aschaffenburg. The figures are colossal, drawn with great mastery, and of earnest, dignified, and grandly individual character. Another chef-d'œuvre, also executed for the same potentate, is still in the place for which it was originally painted, the church of our Lady at Halle. The centre picture, however, representing the Virgin in glory, surrounded with angels, and adored by the donor, the inner sides with SS. Maurice and Alexander, and perhaps the outer sides of the centre picture with SS. Augustine and John the Evangelist, are the only parts by Grunewald. Among the other portions of this altarpiece, executed by his assistants, the most remarkable are the figures of SS. Magdalen, Ursula, Catherine, and Erasmus, probably by the hand of Lucas Cranach.<sup>2</sup> The subject of the Annunciation, also comprised in this work, and its weakest portion, bears date 1529, whence we may conclude that the master must have been in the zenith of his powers at this time. Also a so-called Rosary picture in the chapel of St. Anthony, in the Cathedral at Bamberg, is a first-rate work by the master. It represents, within a large wreath of roses, the Trinity, adored by numerous saints, and below, the figures of Leo X. and Maximilian I., who were contemporary with the picture. The same excellence is seen in the wings of an altarpiece at Heilsbronn in Franconia, and in two altarpieces in the church at Annaberg in Saxony.<sup>3</sup> England once possessed a fine

<sup>1</sup> Merkel's MSS. of the Court Library at Aschaffenburg: Aschaffenburg, 1836, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See Passavant's essay in 'Kunstblatt,' 1846, No. 48. Also, my remarks on Förster's 'Geschichte der Malerei in Deutschland,' in the 'Deutsches Kunstblatt,' 1854, p. 202. [Compare the opposite view in Schuchardt's 'Lucas Cranach,' ii. 69. That Lucas Cranach, born in 1472, and a master in the full enjoyment of his powers long before 1520, should assist Grunewald at Halle in 1529 is neither probable nor credible.]

<sup>3</sup> 'Kunst und Künstler in Deutschland,' vol. i. pp. 46 and 306.



work by his hand, in the collection of the Prince Consort at Kensington—an altarpiece, with the Virgin and Child in glory in the centre, adored by SS. Catherine and Barbara. The inner sides of the wings contain SS. Nicholas and George. The outer sides, with SS. James and Erasmus, show the hand of a scholar.

HANS GRIMMER.—Scholar of Matthew Grunewald. Existing pictures show him to have been a portrait-painter of lively conception, delicate drawing, clear colouring, and careful finish. This description is especially applicable to the portrait of a woman in the chapel of St. Maurice, No. 140. The companion to it, a man, No. 136, is inferior in colouring.

#### SAXON PAINTERS.

No original school can be traced in Saxony, or in the domain of the Elector of Brandenburg; but various Franconian artists exercised their art in these parts: a proof of this is seen in the works by Matthew Grunewald, above mentioned, executed for Halle. The figures of saints on the wings of the altar at Brandenburg, dated 1518—works exhibiting a first-rate master in the dignified character of the figures and elevated taste of the drapery—point also for their author to Grunewald. And even the master who, in the capacity of painter to Frederick the Wise, at Wittenberg, founded a kind of school in Saxony, namely **LUCAS CRANACH**,<sup>1</sup> not only owed his birth to Cranach,<sup>2</sup> a place in Northern Franconia, but his early works bear the character of Franconian art. Born in 1472, of a family of the name of **SUNDER**, he received his first instructions in art from his father, his later teaching probably from Matthew Grunewald; at all events, his whole style of art bears the impress of having been formed from the works of that master.<sup>3</sup> If

<sup>1</sup> 'Lucas Cranach des älteren Leben und Werke,' by Christian Schuchardt, 2 vols. Leipsic, Brockhaus, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 240-255.

<sup>3</sup> [It is hazardous to assert that Lucas Cranach was a disciple of M. Grunewald, whose picture at Halle is dated 1529. They may have been disciples under the same master. The name of Sunder, as Schuchardt proves, is not the name of Cranach. We know that Cranach was born in 1472, but the day and month are not handed down.]



inferior to him in grandeur of conception, in feeling for style, in drawing (his weakest part), and in thoroughness of execution, he excels him in richness and variety of invention, in peculiar clearness of colour, and finally, though often degenerating into a mechanical and slight manner, in the lightness of his treatment. In some instances he attained to the expression of dignity, earnestness, and feeling, but generally his characteristics are a naïve and childlike cheerfulness, and a gentle and almost timid grace. A certain charm of animation, and a warm, blooming colouring, must be accepted in most of his works as substitutes for a strict understanding of form. In these respects his art partakes in a high degree of a national character; even his humour has something of the coarse popular wit of his time. The impression produced by his style of representation reminds one [as Kugler remarks] of the "Volksbücher" and "Volkslieder" of Hans Sachs; and, as in those, the tenderest flowers of art are found in the naïvest way in immediate juxtaposition with all that is tasteless and even childish. Many of his church pictures have a very peculiar significance; in these he stands forth, properly speaking, as the painter of the Reformation. Intimate both with Luther and Melancthon, he seizes on the essential aim of their doctrine, viz., the insufficiency of good works, and the sole efficacy of faith in a Saviour, and endeavours to embody it in the form of art. As specimens of this kind may be mentioned a dying man, dated 1518, in the Town Museum of Leipsic; the Fall and the Redemption of man, dated 1529, in the Ducal Gallery of Gotha; a large altarpiece in the church of the town of Schneeberg in Saxony; and a picture in the Gallery of the Estates at Prague, also dated 1529. All these pictures, some of them accompanied with explanatory inscriptions, are at the same time excellent works by the master. Only in the picture at Schneeberg do we remark the assistance of pupils. Among his pictures of Scriptural subjects, that of the Woman taken in Adultery, in the Munich Gallery, No. 56, deserves particular mention. The heads of Christ and of the woman are admirable. Lucas Cranach is especially successful in affectionate and childlike subjects. This we see in his various pictures of Christ

receiving little children, one of the finest of which is in the gallery of Thomas Baring, Esq., in London—another in the church of St. Wenceslaus at Naumburg. On occasions where he treats mythological subjects, the result, considered in that light, must be looked upon rather as a parody, yet even these appeal directly to the eye, like real portraits; and sometimes also by means of a certain grace and naïveté of motive. We may cite as an instance the Diana seated on a stag, in a small picture in the Museum at Berlin, No. 564, where she is represented with her less happily conceived brother Apollo. Occasionally, it is true, these works are disfigured by a too obvious aim at grace, and by means of a laboured and even violently distorted action; as, for instance, in his Venus and Cupid, where the latter is complaining to his mother of being stung by a bee—also in the Berlin Museum, Nos. 594, 1190, and 1203—where the position of the goddess's lower limbs illustrates what we have said. He treated this subject frequently. The Hercules and Omphale in the same gallery [withdrawn] is very naïve. As specimens of his coarse humour may be quoted his old man caressing a girl, dated 1531, in the Estates Gallery at Prague, and the Fountain of Youth in the Berlin Museum, No. 593. This last is a picture of peculiar character: a large basin, surrounded by steps, and with a richly adorned fountain, forms the centre. On one side, where the country is stony and barren, a multitude of old women are dragged forward on horses, waggons, or carriages, and with much trouble are got into the water. On the other side of the fountain they appear as young maidens, splashing about and amusing themselves with all kinds of playful mischief; close by is a large pavilion, into which a herald courteously invites them to enter, and where they are arrayed in costly apparel. A feast is prepared in a smiling meadow, which seems to be followed by a dance; the gay crowd loses itself in a neighbouring grove. The men unfortunately have not become young, and retain their gray beards. This picture is of the year 1546, the seventy-fourth of Cranach's age.

His great excellence lies in purely realistic subjects, to which department his art properly belongs—such as his

hunts of wild animals,<sup>1</sup> and his portraits. A small but first-rate picture of a stag-hunt is in the Labouchere collection; [others of interest in the Museum of Madrid, and in the Moritzburg, near Dresden]. His portraits are so numerous that I can only particularise a few—for instance, the Elector Albrecht of Mayence, represented full length as St. Jerome, of the year 1527, in the Berlin Museum, No. 589, and that of the unfortunate Elector John Frederick the Generous, No. 590. Also the portrait of the Elector John the Constant, in the Grand Ducal Gallery at Weimar, is one of his best male portraits. Turning to his female portraits, we may cite the pleasingly conceived and warm and luminously coloured head in the National Gallery, No. 291, as a good specimen. These qualities of colour, however, he only attained after 1515, probably after a meeting with some wandering painter from the Netherlands. On the other hand, his earliest known work, the fine *Repose in Egypt*, now in the Sciarra Colonna Palace at Rome, dated 1504; two pictures of SS. Jerome and Leopold, dated 1515, in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna; and the portrait of the Burgomaster of Eisenach, in the Berlin Museum, No. 618a, show a more broken but less clear brownish flesh-tone, in the manner of Matthew Grunewald. He may be said to have reached the zenith of his art towards the year 1530; for, besides the two above-mentioned pictures of that time, the following, bearing the same date, may be reckoned among his finest productions, viz., *Samson and Delilah*, in the Royal Gallery at Augsburg, the *Melancholy*, from the Campe collection, now in the possession of Lord Lindsay, [and the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, in the Lichtenstein collection at Vienna]. In the first of these *Delilah* is seen seated in a beautiful garden, while *Samson*, attired as a stately knight, with rich golden greaves, and the jawbone of the ass in his hand, sleeps in her lap; she is cutting off his hair with a pair of bright scissors; the Philistines, well armed, creep stealthily through the wood; a rich and beautiful view opens itself at the side. Cranach retained his artistic powers unenfeebled till his death in

<sup>1</sup> See lithographs from his border drawings in Albert Durer's *Prayer-book* in the Munich Library, by Strixner. Munich, 1818.

1553, as is evident from the centre picture of the altarpiece at Weimar, which I concur with Schuchart in considering his most important work (see woodcut). This also embodies, as above mentioned, the one great object of the Reformation, representing the Saviour on the cross, with St. John the Baptist directing the attention of Luther and Cranach—two admirable portraits—to the sacrifice by which alone Redemption was purchased. On the left is Christ again, triumphant over Satan, who is seen in the middle distance driving sinners into the gulf of fire. This painter also distinguished himself occasionally in the execution of miniatures; he was a skilful engraver, and also designed a series of drawings, including some of great excellence, for woodcutting; the subjects of several of these show that he took an energetic part in the struggle between Luther and the Papacy.<sup>1</sup>

Considered also in a personal light, Lucas Cranach is entitled to great respect. The Electors, John the Constant and John Frederick the Generous, successors to Frederick the Wise, both retained him in their service. He even shared the five years' captivity of Frederick the Generous, after the battle of Muhlberg, in 1547, alleviating it by his art and his cheerful society. In Wittenberg he was held in such high esteem by the citizens as to be elected Burgomaster in 1537, and again in 1540.<sup>2</sup> He voluntarily relinquished this dignity in 1544.<sup>3</sup>

The long life of this painter, and the rapidity of his brush, which was such as to obtain him the title of "*celerrimus pictor*" on his grave-stone, will account for the very large number of pictures which he executed. Nevertheless, of the works bearing his name, many are the production of his son Lucas Cranach the younger—of whom I have more to say; also probably of another son, called Johann Lucas, who died

<sup>1</sup> 'Schuchart,' vol. ii., p. 240-255.

<sup>2</sup> [It is interesting to note that when the plague broke out in Central Germany, Cranach hastened away to his old haunts in the south, and lived for some months after September, 1539, at Nuremberg. See J. Baader's *Klener Nachträge in Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,'* ii. 74.]

<sup>3</sup> [Cranach was a printer (1524), and kept a chemist's shop at Wittenberg (1520). The shop and Cranach's house were burnt down in Sept., 1871.]



ALTARPIECE IN THE CHURCH AT WEIMAR, CONTAINING PORTRAITS OF LUTHER,  
MELANCTHON, AND THE PAINTER HIMSELF.

By Lucas Cranach.

1528.







at an early age in Italy.<sup>1</sup> A large remainder are by less skilful and often even by spiritless and mechanical journey-men painters. Among the pictures thus manufactured may be included a large number of small portraits of Luther, Melancthon, and of the Electors Frederick the Wise and John the Constant, which bear the date 1532. By allowing, however, his monogram to be inscribed on these works, Lucas Cranach himself contributed to lower his reputation with succeeding generations. Although Schuchart may be right in maintaining that an altarpiece in the church at Wittenberg, assigned to Lucas Cranach, was little, if at all, touched by his hand, but is only one of the better productions of his workshop,<sup>2</sup> yet the composition, which at all events proceeded from him, is too remarkable not to be mentioned here. The centre represents the Last Supper, and is peculiar in its arrangement, for the disciples, with heads of varied character, are seated round a circular table. On the right wing is painted the sacrament of Baptism, administered by Melancthon in presence of an assistant and three sponsors. A group of richly dressed women, as spectators, stand in the foreground. A peculiar but pleasing tone of feeling pervades the whole. The left wing, representing Confession, is superior to the former picture. In the confessor we recognise the portrait of Bugenhagen, who, with severe dignity, absolves a kneeling penitent (a citizen), with the key in his right hand, whilst at the same time, with the one in his left, he motions back a warrior who has drawn near, with a haughty, rather than a repentant air, and whose hands are still fettered. On the predella is a fourth painting, with smaller figures: in the centre is the image of Christ crucified; on one side a pulpit, from which Luther preaches, in front of a graceful and simple group of listening maidens, and women with children; and deeper in the picture is as fine a group of serious men and youths. This work is at once a representation of the most remarkable rite of the Protestant

<sup>1</sup> See notice of this son, who died at Bologna, 1536, 'Schuchart,' vol. i. p. 96, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 147, etc.

Church, and a memorial of the most honoured teachers of Holy Writ.<sup>1</sup>

LUCAS CRANACH THE YOUNGER [born 1515, died 1586], like his father, in his later years filled the office of Burgomaster of Wittenberg. He appears to have formed his style both on that of his father and of Albert Durer, as is evident from the different peculiarities in his works, which remind us sometimes of the one and sometimes of the other. He has, however, a soft grace and a sweetness peculiarly his own, which are particularly seen in his warm, but, at times, somewhat honey-coloured tones. He was one of those who most steadily adhered to the true style of ancient art; whilst his contemporaries, almost in a body, began to yield to the influence of foreign mannerism.

In the principal church at Wittenberg<sup>2</sup> are preserved several of this artist's pictures:—Christ and the two thieves on the Cross, with the family of the donor kneeling at the foot, is an excellent work; a Nativity, in which the rafters of the stable are covered with a crowd of joyous little angels. The Conversion of Saul is unimportant. One singular subject bears again a distinct reference to the state of the Church in his time: it is the Vineyard of the Lord, one half of which is being destroyed by the assembled clergy of the Romish Church, whilst the heroes of the Reformation are employed in cultivating the other—a composition, it must be owned, in which the simple poetic feeling of the conception far surpasses the merit as a painting.

John the Baptist preaching. The saint has the features of Melancthon. This picture is in the Brunswick Gallery, and may be considered one of his best works. The same may be said of a Virgin giving a bunch of grapes to the Child, who is standing before her, and which is hung by the name of the elder Cranach in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 142. Of his later and somewhat slighter period is a Crucifixion in the Dresden Gallery, No. 1774. Two admir-

<sup>1</sup> Schadow, Wittenberg's Denkmäler der Bildnerei, Baukunst, und Malerei Wittenberg, 1825.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

able portraits of the Electors Augustus and Maurice of Saxony are also in the same gallery, Nos. 1776 and 1775.

#### THE SWABIAN SCHOOL.

The chief master of the Augsburg school at this period was HANS BURGKMAIR, born 1473, died [1531], son of the Thomas Burgkmair of the preceding period. [He began as an apprentice to Martin Schongauer, and studied further, it is probable, under Thomas Burgkmair.]<sup>1</sup> He was an artist of very varied powers of invention; for, besides executing those subjects which the Church then dictated, he was also the first master of his time in the delineation of such knightly and courtly themes as the court of Maximilian I. had then introduced into Germany. This is especially seen in the miniatures of his Tournament books,<sup>2</sup> and in his designs for woodcuts<sup>3</sup> for those works executed for Maximilian—the Genealogy of that emperor, the Weisskunig, and the Triumph.<sup>4</sup> On the whole, he remains true to the characteristics of the Swabian school. His compositions are generally devoid of style, and his drawing, especially in his earlier time, is not correct. Although occasionally not wanting in feeling for dignity and beauty, the chief aim of his art was the representation of truth. His heads have therefore a portrait-like air; he is greatly wanting also in feeling for line and attitude. On the other hand, he has a lively sense of colour; the tone of his flesh is generally warm and powerful, the colour of his draperies of great power and depth, and the modelling and execution of the detail, in his better works, of great carefulness. At the same time he is answerable for many works of a hard and mechanical character. This painter, with Altdorfer, was the first in Germany who worked out the detail of his landscape backgrounds in ac-

<sup>1</sup> [See antea in Martin Schongauer. See also, for Burgkmair's death, the guild register of Augsburg in Woltmann's 'Holbein,' u. s., i., 358.]

<sup>2</sup> A Tournament book of this description is in the possession of his Highness the Prince of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen.

<sup>3</sup> See further concerning these works in Bartsch, 'Le Peintre Graveur,' vol. vii. p. 223, etc.

<sup>4</sup> These are the titles of works executed by command of the emperor to glorify his feats and his family.

cordance with nature, though I am not aware that he painted landscapes, properly speaking, like Altdorfer. But in his long life two periods may be very clearly distinguished. In the first, which extends to about 1508, he adheres to the forms of art prevailing in Germany in the fifteenth century; the folds of his drapery are sharper than those of the elder Hans Holbein, and he frequently employs gold, both in drapery and in ornaments. Only in his architecture is the Italian taste indicated: in the second period it appears in the fuller rendering of forms, in the drapery, and in the more harmonious keeping. Nevertheless his German nature is never repudiated in essentials, and, in the woodcuts executed from his drawings, the influence of Albert Durer is distinctly traceable. His strong feeling for the realistic in art is occasionally seen, too, in his successful treatment of scenes from common life. Sandrart mentions fresco paintings by him, but none have descended to us. Of his numerous oil pictures still existing I can only mention a portion. The following, in the Augsburg Gallery, are the chefs-d'œuvre of his earlier time. A rich picture of numerous subjects, dated 1501—among them Christ on the Mount of Olives, and also, in a mandorla, St. Peter, the Virgin and Child, and fourteen saints. The expression of the Christ is very dignified; the form of the male heads noble, that of the female heads refined, but rather monotonous. The foreshortening of the mouth and eyes is generally defective.<sup>1</sup> Another picture, with Christ and the Virgin adored by numerous Saints, is of the same year. A picture, with the Crucifixion in the centre, and the Martyrdom of St. Ursula at the sides, is of the year 1504. The animation in this latter, and the contrast between the ferocity of the heathen and the resignation of the tender maiden, are very successful. Of about the same time is a large picture of the same subject in the Dresden Gallery, No. 1739.

Admirable specimens of his second period are the following. The Virgin seated under a tree, and giving a bunch of grapes to the Child, dated 1510, in the chapel of St.

<sup>1</sup> See further concerning this and the following pictures in 'Künstler und Kunstwerke in Deutschland,' vol. ii. p. 28, etc.

Maurice at Nuremberg. This little picture displays a degree of taste and delicacy of rendering such as Burgkmair but seldom attained.<sup>1</sup> The Crucifixion, in the Augsburg Gallery, of the year 1519;<sup>2</sup> also the Adoration of the Kings, in the same gallery. This last, in character of heads, delicacy of treatment in a cool tone, and mastery of carrying out, is, to my knowledge, the chef-d'œuvre of the second period. Considering the rarity of this master's works in England, I may mention an Adoration of the Shepherds, in his decidedly realistic manner, and of great merit, once in the collection of the Prince Consort at Kensington. A St. John in the Isle of Patmos, in the Munich Gallery, No. 65, affords a specimen of the great development he attained in landscape; the inspiration of the head is also well expressed. A Mother with two Children, dated 1541, in the Landauer Bräderhaus, No. 94,<sup>3</sup> is characteristic of his naïveté and truth of treatment in subjects taken from common life. It is there attributed to Hans Olmdorf.<sup>4</sup> Finally he appears as a mannered imitator of Italian art, in a picture in the church of St. Anna at Augsburg—Christ delivering Souls from Purgatory, probably executed soon after 1533.<sup>5</sup> As a portrait-painter he is seen to most advantage in the portrait of a Duke Frederick of Saxony, in the castle at Nuremberg, and there attributed to Hans von Culmbach. The picture is remarkable for a pure feeling for nature and delicate flesh-tones. The portraits of Duke William of Bavaria and his wife [1526] are harder in outline and heavier in flesh-tones. They are in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, Nos. 136 and 150. Portraits of himself and his wife, dated 1528, in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna, are far warmer and clearer in colour, and very animated in conception. The wife holds a mirror, in which they are both represented as death's heads,

<sup>1</sup> 'Künstler und Kunstwerke in Deutschland,' vol. i. p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 32, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> [In assigning this picture to Burgkmair, Waagen, unawares, runs counter to accurate chronology. As we saw above, Burgkmair was not living in 1541.]

<sup>5</sup> [For the reasons above stated, Burgkmair cannot have painted this picture.]



showing that the fantastic feeling of the middle ages was by no means extinct in the Swabian school at this time. How much it was characteristic of Burgkmair appears in various woodcuts from his designs, namely, in that of a young woman endeavouring to escape from Death, who is killing a young man; in the Seven Cardinal Virtues; the Seven Deadly Sins; and in the Three Good Men and Women, Christian, Jew, and Pagan.<sup>1</sup> He also executed an etching on iron.<sup>2</sup>

But the greatest artist whom Augsburg produced was HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER, born there 1498.<sup>3</sup> In him the German school of realism attained its noblest and highest development, and he may be unreservedly pronounced to be one of the greatest masters who laboured in that school. A comparison with his elder contemporary, Albert Durer, will best serve to place his pictorial merits in a clear light. As respects grandeur and depth of feeling, and richness of conception and distribution in the field of ecclesiastical art, he stands below the great Nuremberg master. Though not unaffected by the fantastic element which prevailed in the middle ages, Holbein shows it in his own way. While Albert Durer treated the subjects of the Apocalypse in the freer forms of his art, though with an adherence to the feeling of the middle ages, and in his Melancholy displays the solemn sense of the insufficiency and instability of all sub-

<sup>1</sup> Bartsch, 'Le Peintre Graveur,' vol. vii. p. 215, etc. <sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> The chief works relating to Holbein are Ulric Hegner's 'Hans Holbein der Jüngere,' Berlin, 1827, and Chrétien de Meckel's 'Œuvres de Jean Holbein, ou Recueil de Gravures d'après ses plus beaux Ouvrages,' Basle, 1780. Also, Horace Walpole's 'Anecdotes on Painting,' [R. N. Wornum's 'Some account of the life and works of Holbein;'] Woltmann's 'Holbein,' u. s.; numerous contributions to 'Grimm's Künstler und Kunstwerke;,' Zeitschr. f. b. Kunst, and von Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' by His, Woltmann, Grimm, von Zahn, W. Schmidt, and G. Kinkel.

The forgery of an inscription in the Augsburg altarpiece of 1512, led to a change in the chronology of the painter, whose birthday was thrown back from 1498 to 1495. Since the discovery of the forgery we revert to the date 1497-8, which is the more credible now, as we possess Hollar's print with a date, and the age of Holbein at that date, and old Holbein's portrait of his son, "aged 14," in the Berlin Museum, executed in 1511. Let us note, in passing, that Hollar was admitted to the guild of Antwerp in 1644 (Liggenen, ii. 157.) [This portrait attributed to the elder Holbein is not now exhibited.]



lunary things, yet in his etching of the Knight with Death and the Devil he gives an expression of a human security and power which may be said to resist and morally to triumph over these assailants. Holbein, on the other hand, seized the mediæval subject of the Dance of Death; and availing himself of his improved means of representation in the expression of the deadliest irony and malignity, he shows us, under every form, from that of the pope down to the beggar, how helpless are the terrors of the human race in every encounter with its invincible foe. While Albert Durer's art thus exhibits a close affinity to the religious ideas of the middle ages, Holbein appears imbued with the sentiments of a more modern time, strictly consequent on which we find him decidedly excelling his great rival in closeness and delicacy of observation in the delineation of nature. A proof of this is afforded by the evidence of Erasmus of Rotterdam—himself gifted with a fine eye in matters of art—who says that, as regards the portraits made of him by both of these painters, that by Holbein was the most like.<sup>1</sup> In feeling for beauty of form also, in grace of movement, tasteful arrangement of drapery, in colouring, and, above all, in the art of painting, wherein he had derived from his father a modelling and fusing manner, as opposed to that of a draughtsman, Holbein must be placed above Albert Durer. Uniting, therefore, with all these qualities admirable powers of drawing and composition, he may justly be considered, of all the German masters, the one most fitted by nature to attain that supremacy of art in historical painting which the works of his great Italian contemporaries—Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, and others—display. That he did not rival them in this respect must be ascribed to the circumstances of his life, which seldom allowed him to treat subjects of that class. In portrait-painting, to which his powers were especially devoted, he stands on a level with the greatest masters. His genius was precocious in development, and highly

<sup>1</sup> This is told by Van Mander, fol. 142 b. Also the well-known engraving of Erasmus, by Albert Durer, Bartsch, Nc. 107, shows a very different conception of his subject as compared with the various portraits of the same by Holbein.

versatile in application. He was skilled in various styles of painting, but chiefly in fresco and oil-colours, and miniatures.

[The earliest pictures of Hans Holbein<sup>1</sup> are those which he painted after his arrival at Bâle in the autumn of 1515.<sup>2</sup> Brought up in the house of his father, to whom he was doubtless apprenticed, he enjoyed the fairest opportunity of observing how the style of that artist was modified by studying the models and embodying the spirit of the revival in Italy. It was the habit of painters to close their apprenticeship and prepare for a mastership by a round of travel. For four years of the previous century Albert Durer had wandered with the staff of the pedestrian in his hand, sharing the hardships and experiences of the mechanics of those days; and love of novelty, traditional habit, or the privations of a home in which life was a daily struggle for bread, might induce Holbein to follow Durer's example. During his travels he came to Bâle, where he stopped. In his journey thither he was doubtless accompanied by Ambrose his brother, an artist like himself, whose moderate abilities were subsequently confined to the production of drawings for engraving. What took both the youths to Bâle was the prospect of earning as draughtsmen to the booksellers of a city renowned throughout the whole of Germany for the production of illustrated works. What kept them at Bâle was the instant success which attended their efforts. Neither Hans nor Ambrose were

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Waagen held, even before the forgeries of 1854, that Hans Holbein the younger was the painter of the Augsburg altarpiece of 1512, of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (1516), and of the companion pieces to the latter in the Munich gallery. He thought it remarkable, but not impossible, that the altarpiece of 1512 should have been executed by a youth of 14. Later critics were deceived by the forged inscription which declared that Hans Holbein the younger painted the altarpiece of 1512 at the age of 17. Since the discovery of the forgery few are disposed to share Dr. Waagen's opinion, and Hans Holbein the elder has been allowed to resume the position from which he was so unfortunately expelled. Compare Waagen's 'Kunstswerke und Künstler,' 8vo., Leipzig, 1845, i., 25; and the sketch of old Holbein's life *antea*.]

<sup>2</sup> [Holbein's presence at Bâle, at least as early as autumn, 1515, is proved by a date in this year's edition of the 'Encomium Moriae,' to which our artist furnished illustrations. This and other data are furnished by Mr. His, in his exhaustive paper, 'Die Basler Archive über Hans Holbein der Jüngern,' in v. Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' iii. p. 115.]

in a condition to matriculate. There were painters in Bâle like Hans Herbster, Koch, and Hans Dig, who had the advantage of long residence and an acknowledged practice. Hans and Ambrose probably engaged themselves as journeymen for daily wages under one of these masters. In 1517 Ambrose matriculated. Hans remained a subordinate till 1519, when he also joined the guild.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime he painted several of the early pieces which are preserved at Bâle, such as the Last Supper, and the Flagellation, recorded in an early inventory by Basilius Amerbach as "h. holbein's first works," a schoolmaster's sign, a couple of portraits—Jacob Meyer and his wife—the painter Herbster (1516-1517), and a picture of Adam and Eve.<sup>2</sup> At the date of his very first effort Holbein gave evidence of skill in realising the detail and expression of portrait. Technically he painted like his father, but with more refinement. In composition he was prone to overload, but his treatment was in every respect spirited and lively. The Meyers at Bâle (1516) are not modelled with the delicacy of later productions, yet they are clever and lifelike. Hans Herbster, in the Baring collection (1517), is coloured in the yellow-brown tones of the elder Hans.<sup>3</sup>

In 1517 Holbein decorated the house of the bailiff, Jacob van Hartenstein, at Lucerne with frescoes. The destruction of these is the more to be regretted from the variety of subjects which, according to an existing transcript, were there represented. In the interior he painted the proprietor's patron saints, scenes from the legends of the same, hunts, deeds of war, and a Fountain of Youth. On the outside, between the windows, feats of ancient heroes; below, a frieze of children playing with arms; above, another with a triumphal procession, after Mantegna; and higher still, events from Roman history. Probably only a year or two later he

<sup>1</sup> [Woltmann's 'Holbein,' u. s., i. 189; His' 'Die Basler Archive,' u. s., in v. Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' iii. 116.]

<sup>2</sup> [Woltmann's 'Holbein,' i. 161-2; 201, 203, 204; and His' 'Alte Zweifel,' etc., in v. Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' iv. 211.]

<sup>3</sup> [To this period the St. Ursula and St. George, in the Carlsruhe Museum, are assigned (personal communication of Dr. Woltmann, with which compare also von Zahn in 'Jahrbücher,' v. 197); but the authorship of Hans Holbein the younger is very doubtful.]

executed the wings of an altarpiece, now in the cathedral at Freiburg, in Baden—the one the Adoration of the Shepherds, treated as a night scene, and with the chief light proceeding from the Child, the effect of the light altogether given with extraordinary truth; the other the Adoration of the Kings, an excellent composition. A remarkable figure here is the companion of the Moorish king, who, as if dazzled, is looking up with his hand before his eyes at the stars. The heads show great truth of nature and every variety of character, from the beautiful to the boorish; the forms, and especially the hands, are delicately carried out. This picture is worthily followed by the portrait of Boniface Amerbach (1519), a zealous patron of Holbein, now in the Basle Gallery. In simple unpretending conception, and pure feeling for nature, this is one of the finest portraits by the master of this period.<sup>1</sup> To the years 1521, 1522<sup>2</sup> we owe various works in fresco which Holbein executed in the Town-house at Basle. Side by side with illustrations of the stern administration of justice, as seen in similar buildings in the Netherlands, were placed traits of republican virtue—the Blinding of the aged Zaleucus, the suicide of Charondas, and Curius Dentatus with the Sabine Envoys. The sole relics of these frescoes now preserved in the Basle Gallery are three heads of the envoys from the last-named subject, the spirited, energetic, and yet finely-tempered character of which shows the mastery Holbein had already obtained in historical painting, and how high a place he would have won had more frequent opportunities been afforded to him.

That he also treated subjects of ecclesiastical import, requiring the expression of deep pathos, with extraordinary success, is evident from his well-known representation of the Passion, in eight compartments, in the Basle Gallery. In colouring and treatment these strikingly recall the fine pic-

<sup>1</sup> [To this year is ascribed the Marriage of St. Catherine, in the palace of King Ferdinand at Lisbon (? by the elder Holbein), which the writer of these lines has not seen, and which Woltmann (Holbein) describes from a photograph.]

<sup>2</sup> [Holbein received the commission in 1521, and finished two sides of the hall in 1522. The records are in His' 'Basler Archive,' in von Zahn's 'Jahrb.', iii. 119-121.]

ture from the life of St. Paul by his father, in Augsburg. The Crucifixion and the Entombment (which latter reminds us, in the chief group, of Raphael's Entombment in the Borghese) are admirable in composition, feeling, and rendering; while the Christ on the Mount of Olives shows a beauty and depth of feeling scarcely inferior to that in Correggio's celebrated picture. It would appear incredible that these works should belong to this early period, were not the egregious false drawing and repelling caricatures and exaggerations—as, for instance, in the Flagellation and the Crucifixion—only to be accounted for by the earliness of their date. Other pictures of this period, showing the decided influence of Leonardo da Vinci, render it probable that Holbein may have made a hasty visit to Northern Italy at this time. In one of them—a Last Supper, in the Basle Gallery, No. 33. one portion of which is wanting—there is a symmetry of arrangement, an elevation of heads, especially in that of the Saviour, and a certain equality of treatment, which show the unmistakable influence of Leonardo's Last Supper, at Milan. The head of Judas alone, a Jew of frightful vulgarity of character, betrays the realistic feeling of Holbein in all its force. In the other picture in the same gallery, No. 21, a Dead Christ, this tendency is seen in its utmost rudeness, combined with an attempt to model in the style peculiar to Leonardo. It is difficult to believe that this pale greenish form, with streaming blood, taken evidently from one who had died a violent death, and drawn with a mastery marvellous in an artist of twenty-three years of age, could have been really intended to represent a dead Christ. The inscription, however, "Jesus Nazareus, Rex. Jud: H. H. 1521," leaves no doubt.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The Last Supper has already been mentioned as one that Basilius Amerbach characterized as Holbein's "first work" (see ante). Neither that nor any other work of Holbein can justify the assumption of a visit to Italy, and Van Mander says expressly: "Hy is in Italian *niet gheweest*" (Sch. Bock, p. 142). We do observe in the Passion, or the Dead Christ, some trace of Italian influence, but not that of Da Vinci. From the transcripts of the frescoes at Lucerne and Bâle, or from the Passion, we derive the conviction that Mantegna's prints and compositions were more familiar to Holbein than any other Italian productions of the time.



[In 1522 Holbein painted the Virgin and Child between St. Martin and St. Ursus, which Mr. Zetter of Soleure so fortunately discovered in 1865. It is signed with Holbein's initials and bears the date of 1522. It once adorned an altar in the church of Grenchen (Canton of Soleure). In size and importance this most interesting piece can only be compared with that which Holbein executed a few years later for Jacob Meyer of Bâle. It is one of the monumental compositions of the form which we so often meet in north Italian altarpieces of this period, representing the Virgin, seated under an archway, enshrouded in drapery of such fullness as to cover the shape completely. As in Giorgione's Madonna of Castelfranco, so here, the mantle is gathered at the neck and falls to the ground in ample folds. On one side St. Martin, in episcopal dress, relieves the necessity of a beggar, on the other St. Ursus, in the helmet and breastplate of Holbein's time, stands, with a banner in one hand, as the guardian of the Virgin's throne. Neither the Virgin nor the Child are graced with ideal beauty of shape or feature: they are portraits, and nothing more; but there is an earnest gravity in the faces, and a pleasing softness in the countenance of St. Martin cleverly contrasts with the stern glance and resolute pose of St. Ursus.]<sup>1</sup>

One of the most admirable pictures, not only of this period, but of the master, is the portrait of Erasmus, dated MDXXIII., one of the chief ornaments of Lord Radnor's rich gallery at Longford Castle.<sup>2</sup> One hardly knows which most to admire, the refined and animated conception, or the masterly carrying out of the minutest details, which are united here. This is doubtless the portrait sent by Erasmus to his friend

Without plagiarism he adopts the forms of costume and architecture which Mantegna used, overloading both so as to give them a quaint and almost grotesque character. Nor is this quaintness diminished by the casual introduction of sixteenth century bowmen in company with Roman legionaries.]

<sup>1</sup> [The infant Christ, copied by Hans Bock, is in the Bâle Museum, and this copy is catalogued in Amerbach's inventory, with the words appended: "Kompt von holbein's gemeld" (taken from Holbein's picture). An outline of the picture is in the '*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*,' vol. iv. p. 200.]

<sup>2</sup> 'Galleries and Cabinets,' etc., p. 356.



Sir Thomas More in 1525, in order to give him a proof of Holbein's powers, and to serve as a recommendation to the great master, who even then contemplated a visit to England. Sir Thomas replied, "Your painter, my dear Erasmus, is an admirable artist," and added the promise of giving Holbein his protection.<sup>1</sup> To the same year may be also assigned the admirable portrait of Erasmus in the Louvre, which represents him in profile.<sup>2</sup> Also doubtless the stately portrait of George Frundsberg, Field Marshal to Charles V., in the Berlin Museum, No. 577.<sup>3</sup>

[But in these days Holbein was not exclusively occupied with portraits; and between 1523 and 1526 probably he composed the beautiful doors of the organ in the Minster at Bâle, in the drawing of which we still discern reminiscences of Mantegna.]

Among the last works executed by the painter at Basle,

<sup>1</sup> Considering the interest attached to Holbein in England, I subjoin the entire passage from the letter in the original Latin: "*Pictor tuus, Erasme carissime, mirus est artifex, sed vereor, ne non sensurus sit Angliam tam fecundam ac fertilem, quam sperarat; quanquam ne reperiat omnino sterilem, quoad per me fieri potest efficiam. Ex Aulâ Grenwici, 18 Dec. 1525.*" [More's letter, above quoted, should be dated 1524, as Grimm (*'Über Künstler und Kunstwerke,'* ii. 132) conclusively proves. It does not refer to Holbein's presence in England, but to the intention of the painter to visit England, as he did in 1526. Erasmus had sent two copies of his likeness to England, a third copy to friends in France. He says so in a letter of June, 1524: "*Et rursus nuper misi in Angliam Erasmus his pictum ab artefice satis eleganti. Is me detulit pictum in galliam.*" (Erasmus to Pirckheimer, June 3, 1524.) One of these likenesses is doubtless acknowledged by More in the letter from Greenwich. Herman Grimm thinks indeed that More's words imply that Holbein was already in England; but this does not necessarily follow from the context. Erasmus only recommended Holbein personally to Egidius at Antwerp on Aug. 29, 1526. From Antwerp Holbein went on to England. Had Holbein paid an earlier visit, say in 1524, to England, we should expect to find some traces of the visit in pictures, but nothing of the kind has yet been discovered.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Waagen here accounts for two likenesses of Erasmus by Holbein. In the foregoing note there is an allusion to a third portrait, and we inquire where it is. There are five portraits of Erasmus besides those of the Louvre and Longford Castle, in the Museums of Bâle, Antwerp, Hampton Court, Turin, and Parma, all of them, except those of Antwerp and Hampton Court, original. The Parma replica is dated 1530.]

<sup>3</sup> [This portrait cannot be by Holbein. The date upon it points to a period subsequent to the year 1528, when Holbein painted in a style unlike that which characterises the picture.]

before his first visit to England, in the autumn of 1526, we may place the beautiful picture in the possession of Princess Charles of Hesse at Darmstadt. It represents the Virgin as Queen of Heaven, standing in a niche, with the Child in her arms, and with the family of the Burgomaster Jacob Meyer of Basle kneeling at her side. With the utmost life, and a truth to nature which brings these kneeling figures actually into our presence, there is combined, in a most exquisite degree, an expression of great earnestness, as if the mind were fixed on some lofty object. This is shown not merely by the introduction of divine beings into the circle of human sympathies, but particularly in the relation so skilfully indicated between the Holy Virgin and her worshippers, and in her manifest desire to communicate to those who are around her the sacred peace and tranquillity expressed in her own countenance and attitude, and implied in the infantine gestures of the Saviour. In this direct union of the divine with the human, and in their reciprocal harmony, there is involved a devout and earnest purity of feeling such as the arts among our fathers only were capable of representing. This picture was doubtless founded by the zealous Catholic donor for a Chapel of our Lady. The painting is fresh and powerful, and the flesh-tones of a warm brown. From various little differences between this and the well-known Dresden picture, see woodcut, it is apparent that it was painted at an earlier period. It is easy also to understand that the patron, desiring to possess such excellent portraits of his own family, thus devoutly engaged, as the ornament of one of his rooms, was induced to give Holbein the commission to paint a repetition of the subject, which in the needy circumstances of the painter could only have been acceptable to him. I am therefore convinced that the Dresden picture owes its creation to some such circumstance. The alterations also which a comparison with the first picture exhibits are such as render it more suitable for that closer inspection which the walls of a room would permit. The head of the Virgin is lovelier and milder in form and expression; the treatment of less body, tenderer, and more inclined to detail. The same remarks apply more or less to most of the other portions. The head of the



THE BURGOMASTER MEYER'S VOTIVE PICTURE.

By Hans Holbein, in the Palace of Princess Charles of Hesse, at Darmstadt.





THE BURGOMASTER MEYER'S VOTIVE PICTURE.

Painted by Hans Holbein, and now in the Gallery at Dresden

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Burgomaster alone is rather hard and empty. The somewhat coarse and slightly-painted carpet may be the work of a scholar.<sup>1</sup>

Two other pictures in the Basle Gallery, also executed in 1526, differ much in style of treatment from all earlier works of the master, showing, by the greater tenderness of the warm yellowish local tones, in the more abundant use of glazings, and increased softness of outline, so strong an influence from Netherlandish art, that even a connoisseur like Herr von Rumohr supposed them to be works by Bernard van Orley. The one, No. 34, represents a beautiful young girl in elegant attire, nominally the portrait of a member of the Offenburg family at Basle, with the inscription, "Lais Corinthiaca."<sup>2</sup> The other, No. 35, taken from the same model, but less attractive, represents Venus, with a somewhat ugly Cupid. Although the last only is dated 1526, yet the first corresponds with it too entirely in every respect to leave any doubt of its belonging to the same time. The remarkable style of these pictures may be best explained by the probability that Holbein, on occasion of

<sup>1</sup> [The Darmstadt and Dresden Madonnas were exhibited together at Dresden in 1871; and the majority of judges came to the conclusion that the former was original and the latter a copy. There was ample opportunity at the exhibition to test the quality of both pictures by comparison with the best productions of Holbein, *ex. gr.*: Sir Henry Guildford, Windsor; the two Godsalves, Dresden; George Gysen, Berlin; John of Antwerp, Windsor; Reskemere, Hampton Court; Morrett, Dresden; Duke of Norfolk, Windsor. The technical treatment in the two pictures was altogether different, the Darmstadt example being executed in the manner peculiar to Holbein, as shown in the numerous works above quoted, the Dresden example in a style betraying a copyist of the close of the sixteenth century. It was observed that the Dresden Madonna was injured by rubbing down; the Darmstadt Madonna disfigured by subtle, but still distinct, repaints. The persons represented on the Darmstadt Madonna are, Jacob Meyer, his first wife, Magdalen Ber, his second wife, Dorothea Kannengiesser, married 1512, and Dorothea's daughter Anna, born circa 1513. The kneeling youth to the left has not been traced, and critics hopelessly differ as to the true character of the boy on the foreground (? the infant Baptist). See His, in 'Jahrbücher,' iii. 153 and following.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Lais Corinthiaca and companion picture are described in Amerbach's inventory as portraits of an 'Offenburgin.' Dorothea Offenburgin was the wife of Junker Joachim of Sultz. Both she and her husband were imprisoned and expelled from Bâle for leading irregular lives. See His, *u. s.*, in 'Jahrbücher,' iii. 163.]

a visit to Antwerp in September, had become acquainted with the manner of Quentin Massys, to which these works most approximate. The already-mentioned letter from Erasmus to his friend Egidius in Antwerp, dated the 29th August, states that, if Holbein desired to visit Quentin Massys, and if he (Egidius) should not have the time to conduct him, he would depute his "Famulus" to show him the house. Who will doubt therefore that one so eager as Holbein to appropriate every fresh means of improvement would profit by this opportunity? That he must have paid a somewhat lengthened visit to Antwerp is further proved by the animated and masterly portrait of his friend Egidius, also in Longford Castle, the whole style of which shows the probability of its having been painted during that stay.<sup>1</sup> In all probability, also, the master sent the two small pictures above named, as specimens of his success in the adoption of a new style, to his patron Amerbach at Basle, from whose collection they were derived.<sup>2</sup>

On his arrival in England Sir Thomas More received the painter in the most friendly manner into his own house, built by himself on the Thames, not far from London, retaining him there for some time without bringing him to the notice of King Henry VIII.<sup>3</sup> Various grounds for this proceeding are easy to conjecture. Sir Thomas may have wished, as was fair, that he and his family should first profit by the painter's genius; also to give Holbein the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the language and manners of the country before making his *débüt* on a larger theatre. It is certain, however, that even in the first year of his English residence he painted other individuals, who were probably personal friends of the Chancellor. Among the works thus produced is the portrait of the Treasurer, Sir

<sup>1</sup> 'Galleries and Cabinets,' etc., p. 356. [The *Lais* must have been painted before Holbein's visit to Antwerp; for it is dated 1526, and Holbein left Bâle in August of that year on his way to England, where he remained till 1518. The portrait of Egidius at Longford Castle is now universally and correctly assigned to Quentin Massys.]

<sup>2</sup> The Amerbach collection forms the principal part of the Basle Gallery.

<sup>3</sup> Van Mander, p. 142.

Bryan Tuke, which shows the closest affinity in style with his latest pictures in Basle, and of which two equally excellent examples exist. One, which I saw in 1835 in the Methuen Collection in Corsham House, [is now in the collection of the Marquis of Westminster, and] inscribed, "Brianus Tuke, Miles, anno ætates suæ LVII.," with the motto, "Droit et avant." An expression of slight melancholy is perceptible in the refined features, and corresponds with a passage from the Book of Job on a paper, "Numquid non paucitas dierum meorum finietur brevi?"—chap. x. ver. 20. He is dressed in black, with under sleeves of a delicate gold pattern. The feeling for nature conveyed by this portrait is refined, and of masterly rendering. As regards the not less successful example now in Munich, Cabinets, No. 143, the inscriptions on the background are absent. The passage from Job, however, is there, with the addition of "Job cap. 10," and "IO. HOLPAIN." A skeleton pointing to an almost spent hour-glass gives the answer to the question.<sup>1</sup> The portrait of Sir Henry Guildford at Windsor Castle, which has unfortunately darkened, is also dated 1527, the first year of Holbein's stay in England; [likewise the Sir Thomas More of Mr. Henry Huth, in London, and Archbishop Warham, at Lambeth House, of which a replica is in the Louvre.] The next year (1528) constitutes another step in the artist's career. The admirable picture of Nicholas Kratzer, astronomer to Henry VIII., in the Louvre, No. 206, shows a larger conception and greater simplicity of forms, but is of a deep and untransparent brown colour.

[One of the most interesting pictures which Holbein painted at this time is that of Sir Thomas More and his family, of which, unhappily, none but copies have been preserved.<sup>2</sup> On the eve of returning to Bâle, where duty and inclination were perhaps calling him, Holbein was entrusted with letters to Erasmus, in which the sketch of this picture, now in the Bâle Museum, was inclosed. It contains ten full-length, life-sized figures, of easy arrangement, of extra-

<sup>1</sup> [It is very doubtful whether this picture is by Holbein, and Mr. Wornum is probably right in doubting its originality.]

<sup>2</sup> [The best in Nostall Priory in Yorkshire.]

ordinary truth and animation of the heads, with great freedom of movement, and of masterly rendering in every part. Erasmus, in answering the Mores, under the date of September, 1529, acknowledged the receipt of the letters, and told how the drawing had been brought to him by Holbein in person. Yet Holbein had been at Bâle since August, 1528. He had taken home the earnings of two busy years in England, and bought a house next to that in which his patron, the printer Froben, kept his books.<sup>1</sup> A portrait of his wife and two children, in the Bâle Museum, was the first fruit of his professional occupation at the time.] To all those who judge of a work of art, not by its subject, but by the amount of skill bestowed on it, this picture is an object of great admiration; but it is no less true that the cross-looking woman with red eyes, the plain little girl, and the half-starved boy baby are not attractive. The conception, however, is of such simple and unpretending truth, the full forms are so masterly, the colouring, with rather gray shadows, is so bright and clear, and the treatment so free and light, that, with these before one, the unpleasing character of the individuals can be well endured, and also the capricious and unartistic arrangement of the picture. Unvarnished reality appears here in its full artistic excellence.<sup>2</sup>

[Holbein was again employed in 1530 to complete the series of wall-paintings begun in earlier years in the Town-hall of Bâle.<sup>3</sup> He might have been induced to remain in this, the place of his habitual residence, had it not been that the Reformation, and the troubles which accompanied it, made earning precarious. In 1532 Holbein returned to England. But the circle in which he now moved was not the circle he

<sup>1</sup> [His in 'Jahrbücher,' iii. 123. It may be that Erasmus's letter is misdated; possibly there was some delay in Holbein's transmission of the sketch, Erasmus being away at Freiburg.]

<sup>2</sup> [Holbein was married to a widow, whose name was Elspeth Schmidt, and she had a son by her first husband, Franz Schmidt, who afterwards became guardian to Holbein's children. See Woltmann's 'Holbein,' i. 347.]

<sup>3</sup> [To this year, 1530, Dr. Waagen assigns "the portraits of Dr. Stokesley and Henry VIII., at Windsor Castle." But Holbein was not in England in this year, he was not as yet acquainted with Henry VIII., and the pictures above quoted are not in Holbein's manner.]

had left. Amongst the merchants of the Steelyard, a rich and powerful body of his countrymen, he found numerous and eager patrons, and these he portrayed, one after another, with never-ending patience and success.]

The portrait of [Hans of Antwerp, a goldsmith, and a member of the Steelyard], dated 1532, now in Windsor Castle, unites with an increasing delicacy of drawing Holbein's usual brownish local flesh-tone.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, a portrait of George Gysen, a merchant, executed in London, but now in the Berlin Museum, No. 586, shows that, in the attempt to attain the utmost possible delicacy of modelling, the master abandoned his in that respect untractable brownish tone for one of a cool but very clear nature, to which he adhered in subsequent years. In close affinity with the last portrait is a delicate picture of a woman in a red dress with fur, and a veil, a rosary in her hand, in the Cassel gallery, No. 50.<sup>2</sup>

[Equally fine and of this time is the portrait of a man, half-length, in the Schönborn collection at Vienna.]

The most important picture for extent and richness of representation which I know by Holbein in England, the so-called ambassadors, in the collection of Lord Radnor at Longford Castle, belongs [to the year 1533]. Of the two full-length, life-sized figures, standing side by side, the one in rich attire, and with the order of St. Michael, represents, as Lord Folkestone informed me, Sir Thomas Wyatt, one of the most learned and accomplished Englishmen of his time. The other figure has both the expression and simpler dress of a learned professor; and various mathematical instruments, a globe, and some wind-instruments, treated precisely like those in the portrait of Nicholas Kratzer, give further evidence of his particular calling. In the conception of the forms this picture is also closely related to the portrait of Kratzer, but it is clearer in the yellowish-brown flesh-tones,

<sup>1</sup> [Hans of Antwerp, or 'Hannssen von Anwerpen upn Stallhof,' as his name appears on the picture at Windsor, was a goldsmith and friend of Holbein, as we observe particularly in the painter's will.]

<sup>2</sup> [To this portrait at Cassel, Dr. Waagen, in assigning it to Holbein, should have added the companion, No. 5, portrait of a man in a black dress and cap.] [Neither of these is now regarded as authentic.]



and very easy in movement.<sup>1</sup> [Other portraits executed in 1533 are those of Derick Born, at Windsor, Deryck Tybis, of Duisburg, in the Belvedere at Vienna, and Robert Cheseman, at the Hague. A small portrait of this year, in the Suermondt collection [Berlin, No. 586 c], attracts by its mastery and good preservation; Ambrose of the Steelyard, in the Brunswick Gallery, a doubtful example, repels by hasty execution and an injured surface.] A water-colour drawing of the favourite subject of the day—the Wheel of Fortune—at Chatsworth, spirited alike in invention and execution, is also dated 1533.<sup>2</sup>

In consequence of the appreciation Holbein met with in England, he came into greater favour also at Basle. A friendly missive from the magistracy of Basle, dated 2nd September, 1532, calls upon him to return to that city; and, as an inducement for him to remain there, promises him the yearly sum of thirty pieces of money. This communication only reached the artist in 1533, [and failed to induce him to change his residence. It was at this time, perhaps, that his works first attracted the attention of Henry VIII. Henry had succeeded in obtaining a divorce from Catharine of Aragon. He was married to Anne Boleyn, and her coronation was celebrated with pomp in May, 1533]. On the occasion of this ceremony Holbein, at the request of his countrymen, the Company of German Merchants in London, executed two large pictures in tempera, called the Triumph of Riches and the Triumph of Poverty, see woodcuts, in the banqueting-hall of the Easterlings, in the Steelyard. These pictures were of such excellence that Federigo Zuccherò, according to the evidence of Van Mander,<sup>3</sup> placed them on the same level with works by Raphael, and himself took copies of them with the pen. Nor does Van Mander admire them less. Indeed, all admiration is fully justified by the masterly pen-drawing by Holbein [in the Louvre], in which

<sup>1</sup> [This picture is inscribed: "Johannes Holbein pingebat, 1533." Woltmann ('Holbein,' ii. 236), suggests that the figure accompanying Sir Thomas Wyatt is John Leland.]

<sup>2</sup> 'Treasures,' vol. iii. p. 351.

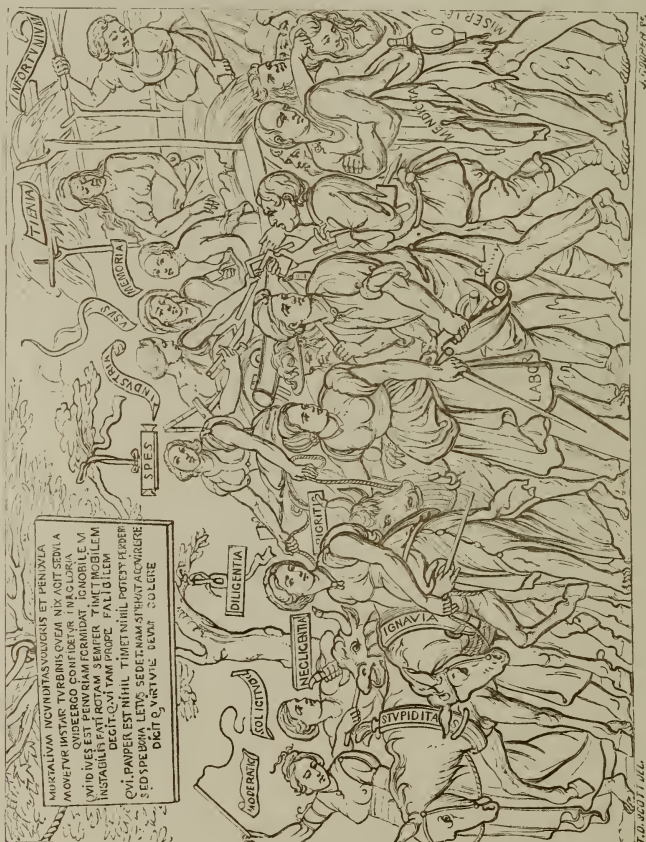
<sup>3</sup> Schilderboeck, fol. 144 a.











# THE TRIUMPH OF POVERTY.

From a design by Holbein. In the collection of the late Sir Charles Eastlake, P.R.A. page 213, No. 2.

he occupies a place in art between Mantegna and Raphael, and also by the fine drawings by Vostermann from both the Triumphs, now in Lady Eastlake's possession. The composition is distributed in the space with much feeling for style, the movements are graceful and grand, and the coldness of allegory is corrected by the fine individuality of the heads.

The Company of the German Merchants in London having been dissolved, these two pictures were, on the 22nd of January, 1616, presented by them to Prince Henry of Wales, a fact which is placed beyond doubt by the documentary researches of Dr. Lappenburg.<sup>1</sup> This is the last *certain* record we have of them; for while it may be inferred with much probability that they passed at the death of that prince—two years later—into the possession of his brother Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., yet as they are not enumerated among the works of art belonging to that monarch which were sold by Cromwell, Dr. Lappenburg concludes they may have perished in the fire at Whitehall in 1697. But such evidence as we further possess is not in favour of this conclusion, for it is remarkable that in the well-known catalogue of Charles I.'s collection, by the keeper Van der Doort, which contains notices of several less important works by Holbein, and even of two miniatures by him, these fine pictures are not mentioned at all.

[It is difficult to prove at whose intercession, or at what precise time, Holbein was promoted into the royal service in London. We might fancy that the interest of Wyatt, whose likeness he took in 1533, or that of Cromwell, whose portrait he painted in 1534,<sup>2</sup> would facilitate his introduction to the monarch. Yet there are no tangible proofs of such an introduction till after the death of Anne Boleyn, when we find the painter executing the great family picture of the

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Lappenburg's excellent work, 'Urkundliche Geschichte des Hansischen Stalhof zu London,' Hamburg, 1851, vol. i., 4to, p. 83. The usual assumption that these pictures were burnt in the banquetting-hall of the Easterlings in the Great Fire of London in 1666 is thus set aside.

<sup>2</sup> [There is a portrait of Cromwell (? genuine) in possession of Lady Caledon.]



two Henrys,—the VIIth with Elizabeth of York, and the VIIIth with Jane Seymour, and their children,—which perished in the fire of 1698, at Whitehall. For a long time our knowledge of this piece and its composition could only be guessed from Leenput's copy at Hampton Court. The grandeur and perfection of the original is now more truly discerned in the fragment of a cartoon, containing the two kings, in the Duke of Devonshire's seat of Hardwicke Hall.<sup>1</sup> This cartoon, indeed, is the only original production of Holbein's representing the features of Henry the VIII. About this time, too, Holbein had sittings from Jane Seymour, whose portrait is in the Belvedere at Vienna—a clear, grey, flesh-toned picture, of great precision. 1537 and 1538 are the years in which Holbein painted his most admirable likenesses. Without counting the Lady Vaux at Prague, an injured picture, of which there is a replica or copy equally injured at Hampton Court, we have the splendid “Southwell” of the Uffizi,<sup>2</sup> and the wonderful “Morrett” of Dresden, either of which would suffice to make the fame of a painter, both remarkable for the skill with which life and expression are given to flesh of a cool gray tone, and texture to silks and stuffs, velvets and embroideries, and details of daggers, buttons, and borders, with a smoothness quite unequalled in any productions of the time.

In the Book of Henry the VIII.'s household expenses for 1538 Holbein appears for the first time in receipt of a regular quarterly salary. In March of that year he was sent with Philip Hoby to Brussels, to paint the likeness of Christina, the youthful widow of the Duke of Milan, and this likeness, now at Arundel Castle, is a speaking instance of the ability with which Holbein could transfer to his pictures, not only the person, but the high-bred air of a lady of quality. It may be that the tender reddish tone which marks this and other creations of the same period

<sup>1</sup> [The discovery of this cartoon is due to Mrs. George Scharf.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Waagen misdated this picture by confounding the year of the king's reign with that of the century. The inscription runs: “X<sup>o</sup> juli. anno H. VIII. XXVIII. Etatis suæ XXXIII.” The Morrett, it is well known, was catalogued for years at Dresden under the name of Da Vinci.]

are due to Holbein's refreshing his memory with earlier works at Bâle. After leaving Brussels in spring he did not return to London, but went on to Bâle, where the splendour of his position, and his new apparel of silk and satin, did not fail to attract considerable attention.<sup>1</sup> The governors of Bâle were not slow to improve the occasion, by urging Holbein to accept an appointment, as town painter, at a salary of fifty gulden, and a furlough of two years, with a pension of forty gulden for each year of his absence.<sup>2</sup> But Holbein only accepted this offer *pro forma*. He found more attractions in England, and he returned to his old haunts in London without regret.

It was a kindly habit of the royal painters to make new year's presents of pictures to the king. On the 1st of January, 1539, Holbein went to the palace with a likeness of the heir-apparent, and Henry rewarded him for it with "a gilte cruse."<sup>3</sup> There are numerous replicas of this portrait, one at Sion House, another in the Yarborough collection in London, another in the Welfen Museum at Hanover, but it is very doubtful whether any of them are original.

Meanwhile the negotiations for Henry's marriage with the Duchess of Milan had been broken off. At the court of the Duchess of Cleves there lived a marriageable princess: Holbein was again sent (Aug., 1539) to paint her likeness, which we see in its perfection at the Louvre.

The painter's works in this and subsequent years are all masterpieces. It is not possible to do more than register them, viz., in 1539, the Duke of Norfolk, at Windsor Castle, and his son, the Earl of Surrey, which is lost; in 1541, portraits of gentlemen, one in the Suermondt collection, another belonging to Mr. Millais, a third in the Belvedere at Vienna; in 1542, the portrait of Holbein himself at the Uffizi; of

<sup>1</sup> [See Woltmann's 'Holbein,' u. s., ii. 317-19 and 325.] This visit, and also the happiness Holbein enjoyed in England, may be gathered from the following passage in a letter from Gualter, then studying at Basle, to Antistes Bullinger at Zurich, in the middle of Sept., 1538:—"Venit nuper Basileam ex Anglia Joannes Holbein adeo felicem ejus regni statum prædicans, quod aliquot septimanis exactis rursum eo migraturus est."

<sup>2</sup> [See the 'Bestallung,' in Woltmann, u. s., ii. 327.]

<sup>3</sup> [See the records in Woltmann's Holbein, u. s., ii. 389].

Butts and Chambers, Henry the VIII.'s body surgeons, Butts in the Pole Carew collection, Chambers in the Belvedere at Vienna. Henry VIII. granting privileges to the Barber Surgeons, a large picture in the College of Surgeons, is about the last work which the painter undertook, and probably remained unfinished at his death.]

Considered as a miniature-painter, in which department Van Mander<sup>1</sup> reports him to have soon outstripped his master Lucas, whom he found at the court of Henry VIII., Holbein displayed rare excellence. I quote only the portraits of Henry and of Anne of Cleves in the collection of Colonel Meyrick. The portrait of the lady is termed by Walpole "the most exquisitely perfect of all Holbein's works."

How early this master succeeded in rendering individual character only with such means as a draughtsman may command may be seen in the eighty-nine portraits of persons attached to the court of Henry, and of other contemporary individuals, in the royal collection at Windsor. In most of these red chalk and Indian ink are the sole materials employed, though sufficient to express a liveliness of conception, purity of feeling for nature, and a lightness and decision of touch such as have been never surpassed.<sup>2</sup>

As regards Holbein's powers of invention, some idea of their fruitfulness may be obtained from various designs, and especially from the woodcuts and engravings taken from his drawings. Of these latter there is a large collection in the Basle gallery.<sup>3</sup> A furious onslaught of Swiss native soldiers, No. 35, shows us with what energy and tremendous truth he rendered the momentary exhibition of passion. This is the most living and spirited picture of that old Swiss race which broke the power of Burgundy, and the force of whose weapons was long considered to be irresistible.

Among his biblical subjects a composition of Christ carrying his cross is remarkable for richness and beauty; also a Virgin and Child for elevation of feeling. A rich series of

<sup>1</sup> Van Mander, fol. 140 b.

<sup>2</sup> Bartolozzi's plates in Chamberlain's well-known work are estimable, though giving but feeble representations of these qualities.

<sup>3</sup> 'Künstler und Kunstwerke in Deutschland,' vol. ii. p. 283 to 291.

cartoons, executed with pen and Indian ink, for glass paintings, and of powerful effect, are very important in character, though not all equal in value. Seven similar cartoons, representing the Passion, drawn also in the master's earlier time, are in the collection of engravings in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> The elevated taste with which he treated subjects from common life is shown by three drawings in the same museum—a woman with three children, another in bed with six children, and Henry VIII. alone at table.<sup>2</sup> Of the engravings from his designs I may observe, as a specimen of the degree in which he was qualified to treat historical subjects, the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, engraved by Hollar.

But the greatest number of his compositions are seen in the woodcuts,<sup>3</sup> executed by highly skilful hands, and especially by Hans Lützelburger, and which, with few exceptions, belong to the period before his removal to England. The series of subjects called the Dance of Death comprise his most original and spirited inventions. These, with the exception of a few proof-sheets, were first published at Lyons in forty-one plates, and in a subsequent edition, which also appeared at Lyons, in 1547, were increased by twelve additional plates. We have already alluded to the feeling which pervades these compositions. So much was Holbein in love with the subject that he treated it afresh in another series of alphabetical woodcuts, and again in a drawing, of which many examples exist, for the handle of a dagger. Next in order the woodcuts for the Old Testament deserve mention. This work, which consists of ninety subjects, the first four of which are the Last Dance of Death, was also published at Lyons in 1538. Some of the designs are most remarkable. The woodcuts for two other alphabets worthily

<sup>1</sup> 'Treasures,' vol. i. p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> 'Galleries and Cabinets,' etc., p. 36, etc.

<sup>3</sup> In this view I concur with Herr Sotzman in the *Tübinger Kunstblatt*, 1836, Nos. 30 to 32; and with Herr Vischer in the same work, 1838, Nos. 50 to 54; 1843, Nos. 15 and 102; and 1846, No. 27. On the other hand, it is believed by some, at the head of whom is Rumohr, that he was himself a wood-engraver. Rumohr's '*H. Holbein in seinem Verhältnisse zum Deutschen Formschnitt*,' Leipzig, 1836; and a reply to Sotzman in the same work.

succeed these last: one of the series contains a dance of peasants, the other of children. The rare woodcuts to Cranmer's Catechism are less important. Of the single woodcuts which bespeak the invention of Holbein I will only mention the portrait of Erasmus, with the terminal figure, and two dagger-sheaths.

Finally, I may mention that Holbein executed a large number of designs for domestic furniture,—stoves, clocks,—and especially for weapons and goldsmith's work. These contain an abundance of original inventions, both as regards the forms of a developed Renaissance style and the figures introduced. Admirable specimens of this kind are in the engraving department of the British Museum, and also in the library.<sup>1</sup>

This great master died in London [between the 7th of October and 29th of November, 1543].<sup>2</sup> Judging from the most authentic of his portraits—the one in red and black chalk, in the Basle Museum, which represents him in youthful years—he was a man of well-formed and regular features, expressive of a clear mind, a cheerful temper, and a quiet decision of character.<sup>3</sup>

Although, owing to the circumstance of his leaving his native town of Augsburg early, and his also residing but ten years in Basle, Holbein created, properly speaking, no school, yet some painters obviously formed their style from his. I may quote CHRISTOPHER AMBERGER, born at Nuremberg about 1500, died after 1560, who lived in Augsburg, and who occupies an important position as a portrait-painter. However inferior to Holbein in energy of conception and refinement of drawing, yet he occasionally surpasses him in transparency and warmth of colouring. [A stay of some years in Italy (he was there in 1535) was of influence in the expansion of his art.]<sup>4</sup> Specimens of interest are the following: the portrait of the well-known geographer, Sebastian Münster, in

<sup>1</sup> See further in 'Treasures,' etc., vol. i. pp. 203 and 236. Also, 'Galleries and Cabinets,' etc., p. 37, etc.

<sup>2</sup> [See the will and administration to the same, by Mr. Franks, in the 'Archæologia' vol. xxxix.]

<sup>3</sup> A line-engraving from it is at the opening of Hegner's book.

<sup>4</sup> [One of his pictures, a portrait in the Belvedere, is dated so: "1535 di Marzo." See Woltmann in Meyer's Lexikon.]



the Berlin Museum, No. 583; and of the Emperor Charles V., in the gallery at Sienna. As an historical painter Amberger is less successful: but an altarpiece, dated 1554, representing the Virgin and Child surrounded with Saints, placed on the wall of the choir-sacristy in Augsburg Cathedral, is skilfully composed and drawn, and the heads of refined and elevated character. The religious sentiment of this picture, though true to nature, is feeble in expression; the colouring is transparent. This painter, considered as an historical artist, embodies the transition from the early German style to that of the more modern school, a movement which is more clearly seen in another altarpiece of the same subject, dated 1560, in the church of St. Anna at Augsburg.<sup>1</sup>

Another painter, of the name of HANS ASPER, shows the influence of Holbein in Switzerland. The portraits of Zwingli and his wife in the library at Zurich are specimens of his art. I have not seen them, however.

Another Swiss painter from Berne, by name NICOLAS MANUEL, surnamed DEUTSCH, born 1484, died 1531, assumes, on the other hand, a far more independent position.<sup>2</sup> Although allied to Holbein in the realistic tendency of his art, yet he differs essentially from him in the mode of its expression. He also treated the subject of the Dance of Death with considerable humour, in forty-six large fresco pictures on the churchyard wall of the Dominican convent at Berne. His conception, however, partakes in no way of the fearfully bitter sarcasm of the Holbein series, but has rather a light and good-tempered character. Thus Death is stroking the Abbot under his fat chin, is marching along with the soldier, and is enticing the child with the merry whistle of his pipe. All, therefore, except a fool, who resists, take the summons quietly. Unfortunately this work only exists in copies.<sup>3</sup> As Manuel, besides being a painter, was poet, soldier, statesman, and reformer, it is not surprising that his art should, in point of development, by no

<sup>1</sup> *Künstler und Kunstwerke in Deutschland*, vol. ii. pp. 62 and 67.

<sup>2</sup> Grüneisen's *Nicolaus Manuel*, Stuttgart, 1837, pp. 156 to 194.

<sup>3</sup> Lithographs of this work were published by R. Haag and Co. at Berne.

means approach that of Holbein. Nor had he that great painter's feeling for beauty. His pictures are very unequal in merit. The richness and frequent beauty of his landscape backgrounds prove the influence of Titian, with whom he spent some time in Venice, about the year 1511. He may be thoroughly studied in the Museum at Basle in the following works :—The Decollation of John the Baptist, No. 70. Here the expression of aversion in the figure of Salome, as she receives the bloody head from the half-averted executioner, is delicately conceived. The colouring is also fine, and the finish careful. The same merit of execution is observable in the David and Bathsheba, dated 1517, No. 68, which is painted in one colour with white lights. A Lucretia, of the same date and style of treatment, No. 69, shows rude and uncouth forms. Two pictures, in tempera on canvas, are also here, Nos. 66 and 67. The first consists of two scenes from the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, having the effect of a parody, the figures being attired in the stately costume of Upper Germany. The second, which is more carefully rendered, represents the Virgin and Child, with St. Anna and Saints, on clouds, and adored by a number of the faithful. Both these works are remarkable for their rich landscape. A large picture, in oil on canvas, representing a peasant wedding, in the possession of the Manuel family at Berne, shows how agreeably he could occasionally treat the busier scenes of common life ; while a portrait of himself, in the Civic Library of the same town, proves him to have been a capital portrait-painter. In his art, also, we may see the deep interest which he took in the Reformation in his native land. A drawing of the Resurrection of Christ is in the possession of Dr. Grüneisen at Stuttgart. Here, however, the guardians of the sepulchre are not Roman soldiers, but Roman Catholic priests and monks, who are sitting round about with their concubines, and, scared by the appearance of the Saviour, are running away with all speed.

That branch of the Swabian school, also, which flourished in Ulm, produced in this period a very remarkable painter, MARTIN SCHAFFNER by name, who laboured from 1499 to

1535.<sup>1</sup> His tendency was realistic also, and in his earlier time he does not advance beyond a common portrait-like character of figures. Of this class is his Adoration of the Three Kings, in the Chapel of St. Maurice at Nuremberg, No. 52. At the same time he exhibited, pretty early in his career, a power of expressing the cheerful innocence of young girls. As a specimen I may cite five youthful female saints, with one elderly saint, in the Berlin Museum [now withdrawn]. Later in life, and owing probably to the study of Borgognone's works, he cultivated a feeling for beauty and for the higher expression of spiritual emotion. The finest specimens of this class are four pictures from the diocese of Weddenhausen, in the Munich Gallery, Nos. 7, 21, 25, 36. These are the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple (of the year 1524), the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Death of the Virgin. From these works we should be led to believe that Schaffner was a gentle and amiable man, full of deep feeling, and endowed with a strong sense of what was delicate and noble in form, more especially as regards the drawing of the heads. His colour only is defective, particularly in the flesh; it has a peculiarly clear greyish tone, without, however, being cold. The last of the pictures just referred to is remarkably good: the sinking form of the Virgin, who kneels in prayer with the Apostles (a peculiar and touching mode of conceiving the subject), and the different degrees of sympathy in the countenances of the latter, are very happily expressed. Over the principal altar of the cathedral of Ulm is another important work by Schaffner, of the year 1521. The centre consists of a carving in wood, representing the Holy Family; the wings are painted by Schaffner; on the inside are family groups of the kindred of the Virgin, and on the outside different saints. The forms are somewhat round, and remind us of Italian art; the heads are soft in expression; the cast of the drapery is still occasionally angular, but grand in form, and in long masses. In all these pictures a delicate cool tone prevails more or less

<sup>1</sup> Grüneisen und Mauch, 'Ulm's Kunstleben,' p. 53, etc. [Schaffner is probably a pupil of Schühlein.]

in the flesh. The general effect also pertains to the cool scale of colour. Martin Schaffner was also an excellent portrait-painter, as seen in his portrait of a Count Öettingen, dated 1508, now in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 156, a picture of refined feeling, though somewhat flat in modelling; also in his portraits in the Besser chapel and in the sacristy of the Ulm cathedral, both far more animated in character and powerful in colour.

Finally, a peculiar position in the Swabian school is taken by the painter HANS BALDUNG, called GRIEN, born 1470 at Gmund, died [1545] at Strasburg. No other master shows, in style of conception, drawing, and treatment, so decided an influence from Albert Durer, which makes it probable that he must have spent some time in the atelier of that master at Nuremberg. In point of feeling for beauty, harmony of colour, and general keeping, he is, however, inferior to the other Swabian masters. The character of his heads, which are roundish and unattractive in form, and too pronounced in single parts, is too often repeated. His chef-d'œuvre is a large altarpiece, signed 1516, in the Freiburg cathedral.<sup>1</sup> The centre picture represents the Coronation of the Virgin by the Almighty and Christ, with angels floating around and playing on musical instruments. The light clouds which sustain them are, on close observation, seen to consist entirely of cherubims' heads. The inner sides of the wings contain the twelve Apostles in adoration: robust individual heads. The outer sides of the wings and two stationary side pictures are occupied by the Visitation, the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, and by the Annunciation: the last-named apparently by a different hand. In the Visitation the sweet expression of the Virgin and the mild and gentle countenance of Elizabeth are of great charm. In the Nativity the light proceeds from the Child; the group is further lighted by clear moonlight. Here, also, the expression of the Virgin and of the five angels is of great tenderness. But the most remarkable of the number, both

<sup>1</sup> See Life of this master, and account of this work, by Schreiber, 'Das Münster zu Freiburg,' second edition, and 'Das Münster zu Strasburg,' second edition, p. 75.

as regards beauty and originality of composition and successful execution, is the Flight into Egypt. An angel has swung himself down from a date-palm, up which four other angels are climbing, on to the mule, and is extending fruit to the Child, who is clinging to the Virgin. On the back of the centre picture is a well-executed Crucifixion, after the composition by Albert Durer. The wings of the back contain SS. Martin, George, John the Baptist, and Jerome, grand and characteristic figures. The portraits of the founders, on the predella, in adoration of the Virgin, under the Crucifixion, are very animated. Occasionally the painter degenerates into revolting exaggerations, as in the figures of those stoning St. Stephen. The head of the saint himself is elevated in character and vigorous in colouring. The picture, signed 1522, is in the Berlin Museum, No. 623. In the same gallery, No. 603, is a Crucifixion, dated 1512, and an admirable cartoon of the same subject is preserved in the collection of engravings. The fantastic element was also strongly developed in this painter, of which the large wings of an altarpiece at Colmar, and especially the Temptation of St. Anthony, give a striking example. The saint is conversing with Paul the Hermit. The landscape in this picture is very beautiful.<sup>1</sup> Two women, also, with skeletons, in the Basle Museum, belong to this class of his works. They are very disagreeable subjects, but admirably executed. The best portrait by his hand known to me is one, dated 1515, of a light-haired youth, in the Gallery of Vienna. That of a Markgraf of Baden, dated 1514, in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 148, is drier. In his drawings Hans Baldung approaches the precision of execution of Albert Durer, though far inferior to him in correctness. He executed two engravings with much skill, and a considerable

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Woltmann (*Zeitsch. f. b. Kunst* i. 262,) gives able but not conclusive proofs that the wings of the altarshrine in the cathedral of Colmar, representing the temptation of St. Anthony, and the hermits, Anthony and Paul, are by Grien. On the back of these wings is a "Majesty" of the Virgin Mary, with the Virgin and Angel annunciate on a second pair of wings; the obverse of which again is covered with a composition of the Passion. This composite work was once on the high altar of the monastery of Issenheim in Alsace.]



number of designs, chiefly of a religious character, for wood-engravings.<sup>1</sup>

THE SCHOOLS OF THE LOWER RHINE AND OF WESTPHALIA.

The Netherlands exercised by their vicinity so preponderating an influence over these countries, that the painters they produced exhibit by no means so distinct an originality as those of the schools we have been considering. The influence of Quentin Massys especially, on the part of Belgium, is recognisable. With a tendency decidedly realistic, they do not, in many instances, rise in their heads above a commonplace character, showing but little feeling for beauty, though often an intense and moving expression. In colouring they nearly approach the masters of the Netherlands, and also in the masterly rendering of detail, namely, in the often highly-finished character of the landscape backgrounds. As regards treatment, they may be distinguished by a certain dryness and by greater hardness of outlines. Here again Cologne forms the centre of pictorial activity, and a particular predilection is shown for scenes from the Passion, namely, such as the Descent from the Cross, which excite sorrowful emotions. After these, the Adoration of the three Kings, whose bones rest in the Cathedral of Cologne, is the subject most in vogue.

Foremost among this school is a Cologne master who flourished in the first third of the sixteenth century. His colouring and treatment of landscape backgrounds show the study of Quentin Massys' works. Later in life he visited Italy, without, however, his German feeling for art being affected in the most essential points by any impressions received there. In his pictures, which show in his later time a more judicious composition, an elevated and fervent religious feeling is observable. The heads of his women evince much feeling for beauty and spiritual purity; his male heads, on the other hand, though invariably truthful, are generally ugly in character; and his old men, in his earlier works, have an over softness of form more suitable to

<sup>1</sup> Bartsch mentions fifty-nine wood-engravings, 'Peintre Graveur,' vol. vii. p. 305.

the other sex. The nude he frequently treats with a certain meagreness, though otherwise he is a tolerably good draughtsman. In his earlier works a great transparency and warmth of colouring appear, and his flesh is of a blooming reddish tone. In those later pictures, in which some influence from Italian art is traceable, this fine local colour is sacrificed to an attempt at greater modelling, but at the same time his heads are altogether of nobler form and purer taste. In the Netherlandish minutiae of his landscape he remains always the same, except that his later pictures are in this respect somewhat heavier in tone. His earliest known work, dated 1515, is the Death of the Virgin, in the Museum at Cologne. The composition is certainly scattered, and the incidents wanting in repose; but the head of the Virgin is tender, the female saints on the wings of lovely character, and the portraits of the donors truthful. A large and originally far more important representation of the same subject was formerly also in a church at Cologne, but now forms part of the Boisserée collection in the Munich Gallery (Cabinets, Nos, 69, 70, and 71). It agrees entirely in the wings with the above-mentioned picture, but differs greatly from it in the centrepiece. Like other pictures collected by the Boisserées, it has been strongly overpainted with glazing colours, which give it a crude and gaudy look. The brick-red tones bestowed on the flesh parts are particularly disagreeable. An important picture in the Gallery at Naples, by the same master, corresponds entirely with that at Munich. The subject is a Crucifixion, with the Virgin, St. John, the Magdalen, and three angels who are catching the blood. On the wings are the donor with three sons, presented by St. Jerome, and his wife with two daughters, presented by St. Margaret, and the armorial bearings of the family.

One of the finest works however of this earlier time is in the collection of Mr. Blundell Weld, of Ince, near Liverpool, representing the Virgin contemplating the sleeping Child with intense love, and three singing angels.<sup>1</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> 'Treasures of Art,' vol. iii. p. 250.

work of considerable size of the same time is a free copy, the property of Lord Heytesbury,<sup>1</sup> from the well-known Descent from the Cross by Rogier van der Weyden the younger, of which, as we have already said, three examples exist: two in the Madrid Gallery, and one in the Berlin Museum. The fact that one of these copies was formerly at Louvain proves that the Cologne master was for a time in the Netherlands. The difference in the composition lies only in the figure upon the ladder, and some of the heads are only altered in the expression. Instead of the gold ground the copier has introduced a rich landscape. To the same period finally belongs an Adoration of the Kings in the Dresden Gallery, No. 1801. The transition from his earlier to his later style appears in a Pietà, with Joseph of Arimathea and St. Veronica, dated 1524, on the inner sides of the wings, in the Städel Institute at Frankfort. It was formerly in the Lys church at Cologne. The early transparency of his colour is here seen combined with a higher character in some of the heads. The following are the chefs-d'œuvre of his later time:—An Adoration of the Kings, of very considerable size, in the Dresden Gallery, No. 1779. The character of the heads is very much the same as in his early days, but the colouring is grayer. It was probably painted for a church near Genoa, where it was formerly preserved.<sup>2</sup> A somewhat large altarpiece in the Louvre, No. 601, with a Pietà in the centre, St. Francis receiving the Stigmata in the lunette, and in the predella the Last Supper. The many reminiscences of the Cena by Leonardo da Vinci prove the painter to have been in Milan. The arrangement of the centre composition is here more comformable to style, the types less truthful, but of greater elevation of character, the modelling more careful, but the colouring less warm and transparent.<sup>3</sup> Next in order, finally, is an Adoration of the Kings in the Gallery at Naples, there erroneously called Luca d' Ollanda, with two of the Kings upon the wings. The heads of the Virgin

<sup>1</sup> 'Galleries and Cabinets,' etc., p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> 'Remarks on the Exhibition, etc., of the Dresden Gallery,' Berlin, 1859, by Dr. Waagen, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris,' p. 553, etc.

and of the kneeling King are here very beautiful; the chiaroscuro in which the procession is kept is particularly successful.

Another painter deserving mention is one who flourished in Cologne in the first decennium of the sixteenth century. and to whom the name of Lucas van Leyden was formerly erroneously given, and in later times, though also on insufficient grounds, that of CHRISTOPH. There is something antiquated in his meagre forms and in the awkward motives, in which at the same time an attempt at grace is observable. In his heads also the same insignificant and by no means attractive features are repeated, and generally with an affected smile. His hands especially are characterized by bony and scarcely tapering fingers. The flesh-tones incline to a cool pearl-gray colour; the draperies, in heavy and sharp breaks, consist generally of sumptuous stuffs executed with great minutiae. The modelling, however, of every part is marvellous. Upon the whole the influence of Quentin Massys may also be traced in this painter. His earliest picture, known to have been executed about 1501, formerly in the Chartreuse at Cologne, and later in the possession of Herr Haan at Cologne, represents St. Thomas placing his finger in the side of the Saviour, who is assisting him in the act. At the sides are four saints, with angels playing on musical instruments on the grass. On the wings, outside and inside, are saints. Somewhat later in time, and from the same church and in the same hands, is the Crucifixion, with the disciples and St. Jerome. On the interior of the wings are saints, with the Annunciation, and SS. Peter and Paul on the exterior. Next in order are a series of single saints, five of whom in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, Nos. 38-40, form an altar. The most remarkable figures are SS. James the younger, Bartholomew, and John the Evangelist. Two more are in the City Gallery at Mayence; and two, SS. Peter and Dorothea, No. 707, in the National Gallery.<sup>1</sup> In all these the finish of the execution is marvellous. But his most remarkable work, as regards size and import, is a

<sup>1</sup> 'Galleries and Cabinets,' etc., p. 228.

Descent from the Cross, in the Louvre, No. 280, there called Quentin Massys. In composition, expression of the emotions, and warmer colour of the flesh, this is his most favourable specimen. The brown glazing shadows on the gold ground give it the look of a shrine.

In affinity with the first of these two anonymous masters may be mentioned JOHANN VON MELEM of Cologne, though several pictures of saints and donors in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, Nos. 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, show him to be inferior in drawing, execution, and colouring.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Westphalian painters, all unknown by name to us, of this time, one especially is distinguished. His style of art approximates also in every respect to that of the Netherlands, though it bears a sterner and more antiquated form than that of the first-mentioned Cologne painter. His tendency is decidedly realistic, and his practice in every respect of great truthfulness; but unfortunately he is greatly deficient in feeling for beauty, his female heads being little attractive, and those of his children strikingly and also monotonously ugly. There is but little firmness in his drawing, and his outlines are sharp. On the other hand, there is something naïve both in his composition and feeling, his colouring is of extraordinary power, and his execution of great detail and solidity. His landscape backgrounds, for instance, which are enlivened with various attractive episodes, are among the best of the class which this period produced. The best specimen I know of him (a Nativity, date 1512) is wrongfully termed an Albert Durer, in the Gallery at Naples (No. 342 of the Catalogue of 1842). The Child is lying on the ground beneath the ruins of a building, which, according to mediæval conception, betokened an antique temple, adored by the Virgin and Joseph, while a number of angels are singing the "Gloria in excelsis," accompanied by various musical instruments; at the sides are the donors, two men and two women, with their patron saints. In the rich hilly landscape of the background is seen a town upon a lake. The execution is wonderfully

<sup>1</sup> I purposely reserve the mention of Hans von Calcar for a later occasion.



minute. A smaller but equally remarkable altarpiece is in the Berlin Museum, No. 607. In the centre of a rich and attractive landscape is the Virgin, with the Child in the act of benediction, and six angels. The insides of the wings represent the donor with St. Augustine, and the donor's wife with St. Barbara; the outsides, St. Anna with the Virgin and Child on her lap, and St. Elizabeth of Thüringen with a beggar. A third winged altarpiece, dated 1515, is in the Antwerp Museum, Nos. 523-25. In the centre is the Virgin holding the Child, who is taking cherries from a basket held to him by an angel, while another angel is playing on a musical instrument. In the sky are the Almighty and the Dove. The Murder of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt are both in the rich landscape. On the wings are the donor with St. Sebastian, and the donor's wife with the Magdalen.

In one painter only from the Lower Rhine, ANTON VON WORMS by name,<sup>1</sup> is the influence of Albert Durer perceptible. He flourished in Cologne from 1525 to 1531, principally as a designer for woodcuts, and also as a painter. His pictures, which are very rare, give evidence of a master who combined good drawing with a certain sense of beauty. One, signed with his monogram, is in the possession of Herr Merlo of Cologne. His good drawing appears also in the woodcuts taken from his designs. M. Sotzmann's investigations prove that of the eleven designs attributed to him by Bartsch,<sup>2</sup> one (No. 11) is by a feebler master; that his Passion is not copied from Albert Durer, but that only a few motives from that master have been adopted; these researches also add to the list various woodcuts of which he was the author, and especially one containing a large map of Cologne.

Among the pictures in the Museum at Cologne, and also in the churches of that city, may be seen many respectable though not important productions of this period. We may include the finely-coloured glass-painting in the north aisle of the cathedral of the year 1509.

<sup>1</sup> See Sotzmann on Anton von Worms, Cologne, 1819; and again in the 'Kunstblatt,' 1838, Nos. 55 and 56.

<sup>2</sup> 'Peintre Graveur,' vol. vii. p. 488.

## BOOK IV.

## ITALIANIZED FLEMINGS.

1530—1600.

DETERIORATION OF THE TEUTONIC STYLE OF ART, AS REGARDS HISTORICAL PAINTING, ARISING FROM THE IMITATION OF THE ITALIANS. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OTHER CLASSES OF PAINTING—GENRE, LANDSCAPES, ETC.

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## CHAPTER I.

## PAINTING IN THE NETHERLANDS.

IN consequence of the reputation of the great Italian masters Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, which spread throughout the Netherlands as well as Germany, many painters from these countries repaired to Italy. Here we find that precisely those qualities most opposed to their own feeling for art made the deepest impression on their minds ; more especially such as showed excellences beyond the sphere of individual nature, viz., grandeur of beauty, and simplification of forms, masterly drawing of the nude, unrestrained freedom, boldness, and grace of movement—in short, all that is comprised in art under the term of the ideal. The attempt, however, to appropriate all these qualities could lead to no successful result. Being based on no inherent want on the part of their own original feeling for art, it became only the outward imitation of something foreign to themselves and already fully developed by others. They never succeeded, therefore, in mastering the complete understanding of form, or in adopting the true feeling for beauty of lines or grace of movement, and, in aiming at them, they degenerated into untruthfulness and artificiality

of expression—into exaggeration of drawing and violence and tastelessness of attitude—while the effort to model was generally at the expense of their own fine colouring. The pictures of this class, even of religious subjects, have accordingly but little to attract the eye ; the more so as the withdrawal of genuine inspiration leaves the heads generally cold. But when they selected scenes from ancient mythology, and allegories decked out with an ostentation of learning, the result is positively disagreeable. Numerous, however, as were the painters in the Netherlands who followed this mistaken course, there were plenty whose sound feeling resisted the error, and impelled them to a different vocation. In lieu of religious subjects, the inspiration for which, as we have said, had ceased to flow, they began to take pleasure in scenes from common life, and struck into that path which had been opened by Lucas van Leyden. In this way religious themes subsided into mere accessories, and served only as a pretext for pictures which embodied their favourite studies. Others, who delighted especially in landscape, followed the steps of Patenier and Civetta ; with this difference, that the landscape became their principal subject, and the gradually diminishing size of their figures reduced them at length to mere accessories of the foreground. But although all these masters, by the finish of their detail, by their animation, *naïveté*, and humour—and the landscape-painters especially, by their frequent poetic inventions—are incomparably more attractive than the imitators of Italian art, yet their propensity to the fantastic, their absence of simplicity in arrangement, their gaudy and crude colouring, and want of general keeping, must always assign to them a subordinate place amongst lovers of art. The most satisfactory productions of this period will therefore be found in the department of portrait-painting, which, by its nature, threw the artist upon the exercise of his own original feeling. As this epoch is far more important as a link in the chain of history than for any pleasure arising from its own works, it will be sufficient to quote only the more important painters and a few of their principal pictures.

The first painter who deserted his native style of art, in which, as we have stated above, he had already greatly excelled, was JAN VAN MABUSE. His works after 1512 are, with small exception, characterised by all the mistakes we have enumerated. Their redeeming quality is masterly treatment. Among those of a religious class some of a small size are the most remarkable. The *Ecce Homo* in the Antwerp Museum, No. 181, so frequently copied by contemporary painters, is a specimen of masterly modelling and vigorous colour; also two *Madonnas with the Child*, with rich architectural accessories, in the collection of Mr. Baring.<sup>1</sup> Mabuse is least successful in his nude figures; for instance, in his *Adam and Eve*, at Hampton Court,<sup>2</sup> an original repetition of which is in the Berlin Museum, No. 642. But his most unpleasing efforts are such figures taken from mythology, viz., *Neptune and Amphitrite*, also in the Berlin Museum, No. 648, and *Danaë and the Golden Shower*, in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 41. On the other hand, his most attractive works of this time are portraits, such as a young girl weighing gold pieces, in the Museum at Berlin, No. 656A; [the *Children of Christian II. of Denmark*, at Hampton Court; and "*Jean Carondelet*," at the Louvre. The largest and most important of the master's latest altarpieces, a *Descent from the Cross*, in the church of Middelburg in Zeeland, was destroyed by fire on the 24th of January, 1568.]

Next in succession to Mabuse is BERNHARD VAN ORLEY, born at Brussels, [1488-90, died] 1541.<sup>3</sup> Though almost contemporary with Mabuse, yet we know of no pictures by him so worthily allied to the old school in moral and technical qualities as those executed by Mabuse before his visit to Italy. But, on the other hand, in the works imitative of the Italian style, Bernhard van Orley is never so cold in feeling or so tasteless in form as Mabuse, who could never entirely shake off his Netherlandish feeling, and who, more-

<sup>1</sup> 'Galleries and Cabinets,' etc., p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> 'Treasures,' etc., vol. ii. p. 368.

<sup>3</sup> [Bernhard van Orley was the son of Valentine van Orley, a painter who matriculated at Antwerp in 1512. See Liggeren, i. 77, 86.]

over, during a [short stay in Italy] especially devoted himself to the imitation of Raphael. The works of the Brussels painter are composed with much discrimination; the earlier specimens often with earnest feeling, the later exhibiting welldrawn forms and good keeping; while the latest, it is true, lapse into the exaggerated and mannered forms of the later followers of Raphael. At the same time his execution is invariably careful, and his colouring invariably cool in general effect, the flesh-tones inclining to a cold reddish colour. Bernhard van Orley was court-painter to Margaret of Austria, Governess of the Low Countries, and retained the same post under her successor, Mary of Hungary (1524-35). The work by him bearing most signs of Netherlandish thought and practice is the *Pietà*, with portraits of the donors on the wings, in the Museum at Brussels. The heads are elevated in form and feeling—the portraits of great truthfulness. In close affinity with this is the altar-piece in the church of the town of Lierre, beyond the railway between Antwerp and Mechlin; the centre containing the Marriage of Joseph and the Virgin, the wings the Annunciation and the Presentation. His most considerable work is a shrine with double wings in the church of our Lady at Lubeck. The outsides of the first pair of wings contain the Annunciation; the inner sides, and the outer ones of the second wings, the four Latin Fathers, of good draperies; and, finally, the inner sides of the last-mentioned, the Sibyl showing the Vision of the Virgin and Child to the Emperor Augustus, and St. John the Evangelist with the Vision of the Apocalypse; the centre represents the Trinity with adoring Saints, a free version from Albert Durer's picture. This work is of great merit in many respects.<sup>1</sup> Another picture, signed with his name, and in two compartments, is in the Gallery at Vienna. One division contains the Emperor Antiochus Epiphanes erecting an idol in the temple of Jerusalem; the other the Day of Pentecost, with St. Peter addressing the people. The heads are not pleasing, but the

<sup>1</sup> We should add to these the triptych in the Brussels Museum (No. 368), inscribed with Van Orley's name and the date 1521; and representing the trials of Job.



execution is careful. His large Last Judgment in the chapel "des Orphelins" at Antwerp, with the Seven Works of Mercy on the predella, is most indicative of his adopted Italian manner. Though worthy of note for the able drawing of many of the figures, for the powerful tone of the flesh, and the vivacity of many portrait-like heads, yet the exaggeration of many of the actions—for instance, that of the Christ—the overladen character, and the gaudiness of the colouring give a very unpleasing effect, considered as a whole. One of his most attractive pictures is a Virgin and Child and Joseph, which is finely felt, and taken from a composition by Leonardo da Vinci in the Liverpool Institution.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in the worked hanging representing Abraham and Melchisedeck, and Rebecca at the Fountain,<sup>2</sup> at Hampton Court—probably taken from his cartoons, and decidedly of his latest time—he appears as a mannered imitator of Raphael.

JAN SCHOREEL, born 1495, died 1562 ;<sup>3</sup> scholar of Mabuse. This painter appears to have been the first to introduce the Italian style into his native country—Holland. On occasion of a pilgrimage to Palestine he happened to stop in Rome exactly as his countryman, Adrian VI., was raised to the papal dignity, 1521. He painted his likeness, and was appointed overseer of the objects of art in the Vatican. After the short reign of that pope Schoreel returned to Holland, and died at Utrecht, where he occupied the position of canon. In the historically authenticated picture by him, in the Town-hall at Utrecht, representing the Virgin seated, with the Child, in a landscape, with donors, he appears as an able draughtsman, and as an imitator of Raphael and Michael Angelo. [In the numerous gospel subjects (*temperas*) painted by Schoreel in 1525 for the church of Warmenhuizen, near Alkmaar, we have an interesting example of his skill. To the left of the altar is the Fall of the Manna and the Worship of the Golden Calf; to the right, the Egyptians overwhelmed

<sup>1</sup> 'Treasures,' etc., vol. iii. p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Van Mander, fol. 154a, and Joh. Secundi, *Operæ Epist.*, lib. vii. 2.

in the Red Sea.]<sup>1</sup> The donors, and a set of portraits of pilgrims to Palestine, in the Town-hall at Utrecht, show Schoreel as a painter of vigorous conception, warm tone of colour, and capital execution, in the style of the Netherlandish school.<sup>2</sup> The same may be said of the portraits of a man and his wife, dated 1539, in the Gallery at Vienna;<sup>3</sup> [whilst the Magdalen, in the Museum of Amsterdam, displays the strong influence of the Ferrarese school on the one hand and of Mabuse on the other]. From a picture which was in the possession of the Methuen family at Corsham House in 1836, representing loving couples beguiling the time with music and the pleasures of the table, it is evident that he occasionally treated secular subjects with success. The treatment is truthful and lively, and the execution in a warm brownish tone of great mastery.<sup>4</sup>

MICHAEL VAN COXCYN, commonly written Coxis, born at Mechlin 1499, died there 1592. He was at first scholar to his father, and afterwards to Bernhard van Orley, [whom he succeeded as court-painter to Mary of Hungary].<sup>5</sup> He spent a number of years in Italy, where he adopted the outer form of Raphael's works, but remained unimbued with their spirit, so that the name of the Flemish Raphael, which was given to him, must be taken with much reserve. The numerous pictures which were the result of his long life are of very unequal merit. His frescoes in the church dell' Anima at Rome are unimportant and very mannered. In his com-

<sup>1</sup> [See M. D. van der Kellen, junr., in No. 50 of the 'Nederlandshe Spectator' for 1861.]

<sup>2</sup> See article by Passavant, 'Kunstblatt,' 1841, No. 13.

<sup>3</sup> There erroneously called his own portrait.

<sup>4</sup> All other pictures, in Munich, Cologne, etc., attributed to this painter are not by him. [Many of Schoreel's works were painted at Ghent. Vaernewyck, in his 'Beroerlicke Tijden,' notes some of his pictures that were destroyed by Iconoclasts in St. Nicholas (p. 152). Schoreel was the first restorer of John van Eyck's altarpiece of the Mystic Lamb (Vaernewyck, Hist. v. Belgis). His pictures of the Submersion of Pharaoh and the Repose in Egypt were in the collections of Francesco Leo and Gabriel Vendramin at Venice at the beginning of the sixteenth century (anon. pp. 70 and 80.)]

<sup>5</sup> Respecting the spelling of his name, and notices of his life, see 'Catalogue of Antwerp Museum,' von 1857, p. 81, etc. [See also Pinchart (A.) 'Archives des Arts,' etc., tom. i., 160-282, and 'Messager des Sciences,' for 1868, p. 322.]

positions—which are frequently but too closely copied from Raphael—he shows in various portions much taste, and a sense of beauty in the heads; at the same time he is generally empty in expression, artificial in attitude, and exaggerated in the indication of muscles. Specimens of this class are in the Antwerp Museum, especially his Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, No. 371, and his Triumph of Christ, No. 376. A copy of the great picture, the Adoration of the Lamb, by the Van Eycks, which he executed for Philip II. of Spain, is full of merit as regards the life-size figures, but is greatly inferior in those of a small scale.

LANCELOT BLONDEEL of Bruges, [born 1495, died at Bruges in 1561, was a journeyman mason before he became a painter in 1520].<sup>1</sup> This master took delight in rich architectural backgrounds, conspicuous in which are whimsical Renaissance forms, generally executed in brown varnish on a gold ground, and therefore of very brilliant effect. His figures, which are chiefly conceived in the Italian taste, are often well set in action and of careful finish, but mannered, and of cold flesh-tones. The earliest picture known by him, signed 1523, in the church of St. Jacques at Bruges, represents SS. Cosmo and Damian; another, in the cathedral of the same town, dated 1545, the Virgin and Child, with SS. Luke and Eligius. In the Museum at Berlin is also a Virgin and Child, No. 641, and a large Last Judgment, No. 656, an unsuccessful mixture of Netherlandish and Italian styles. The design for the mantelpiece in the large Council-hall at Bruges,<sup>2</sup> adorned with the statues of Charles V. and other princes, was by him as well.

JAN CORNELIS VERMEYEN of Malines, born 1500, died at Brussels 1559. How he gained instruction in art is not known. [He was appointed painter to Margaret of Austria in 1529, and in 1534 he was summoned by Charles V.]<sup>3</sup> to Spain for the purpose of accompanying the expedition to Tunis, where he drew the Siege of Tunis, with other events

<sup>1</sup> [Weale's 'Catalogue de l'Académie de Bruges,' 1861., p. 13.]

<sup>2</sup> See F. de Hondt. 'Deuxième notice sur la cheminée'. . . du Franc de Bruges, Gand, 1846, p. 42, and a notice of an earlier date by the same.

<sup>3</sup> [See Tableaux et Sculptures de Marie de Hongrie, in 'Revue Universelle des Arts,' iii. 137 and following.]

of the campaign. With the help of these drawings thus taken on the spot he executed [several pictures, now preserved in the Castle of Coburg, and] ten large coloured cartoons, from which tapestries were worked by order of the Emperor, and probably in the Netherlands. These cartoons are preserved in a rolled-up state in the *Garderobe* of the Gallery at Vienna, and are said to have suffered much in parts. They are reported to be of great vivacity.<sup>1</sup> An evil star seems also to have presided over other works of this master, who was well known in his time, and who, firstly, for his fine handsome person, and secondly, for the length of his beard, was called *El Mayo* and *Juan de Barbalonga* in Spain. His pictures in the cathedral at Brussels were ruined by the Iconoclasts; and various landscapes, reported of great beauty, in the Palace of the Prado in Madrid, perished in the destruction of that building by fire in 1608. He is said to have been also a skilful portrait-painter.

MARTIN VAN VEEN, named from his birthplace MARTIN HEMSKERK, born 1498, died 1574. He was a scholar of Schoreel, from whom he received the Italian style of art, which he afterwards carried out in a most repelling form in Rome by the study of Michael Angelo and of the antique. His numerous pictures became very popular in Holland, but have now mostly disappeared. Momus criticising the Works of the Gods, dated 1561, in the Berlin Museum, is very characteristic of his art. The same may be said of the Silenus on an Ass with two Bacchante, in the Vienna Gallery.<sup>2</sup> As regards his treatment of Church-subjects, some pictures in the Hôtel de Ville at Delft and Haarlem are characteristic specimens. In the first is an altar with wings, signed and dated 1557, in the centre of which is the Elevation of the Brazen Serpent, in *chiaroscuro*. Also a second winged altarpiece, dated 1559, with the *Ecce Homo* in the centre. In a picture at Haarlem he has represented himself under the form of St. Luke painting the Virgin. If this picture be

<sup>1</sup> See article in 'Kunstblatt,' 1821, No. 51. My efforts to see at all events one of these cartoons were unsuccessful.

<sup>2</sup> The numerous pictures in the Munich Gallery attributed to him are the work of Bartholomew de Bruyn.

considered hard and mannered, a Martyrdom of two Saints, of the year 1575, is positively frightful [withdrawn].

LAMBERT SUSTERMANN, called LAMBERT LOMBARD, born at Liège 1506, died there 1560. He was a scholar of Mabuse, and adopted the Italian style from him, which afterwards, on occasion of accompanying Cardinal Pole to Italy, he further cultivated under Andrea del Sarto. On his return to Liège he opened a school which was numerously attended, and which was the means of further diffusing this style in the Netherlands. He also professed architecture, engraving, numismatics, archæology, and poetry. He is not deficient in feeling for beauty, either in heads or in action, though often very mannered in the last named. In the rendering of the muscular formation he is, compared with other painters of the time, somewhat subdued. His colouring is generally characterised by coolness, and by a *sfumato* which he probably adopted from Andrea del Sarto. In execution he is careful. His pictures are now very rare. The most remarkable—the Passage of the Red Sea, which is not successful; a Vision, which is more satisfactory; and the Scourges of the Almighty, Pestilence and Shipwreck, which are the most attractive of all—were in the collection of the King of Holland.<sup>1</sup> A Virgin with the sleeping Child, pale in colour, but of refined feeling and tender completion, is in the Berlin Museum, No. 653.

FRANS DE VRIENDT, called FRANS FLORIS, [son of Cornelis de Vrint, a stone-cutter], born at Antwerp about 1520, died there 1570. He learnt his art from Lambert Lombard, and also visited Italy. As early as 1540 he was admitted into the guild of painters at Antwerp, and there opened a school, which is said to have been frequented by one hundred and twenty scholars. In him the imitation of the Italian style attains its highest development. He was an artist of great talent, powers of invention, and facility of painting. He was deficient, however, in the sentiment of his heads, in grace of action, and in understanding of drawing, so that his forms often exhibit marked exaggerations. On this account it is

<sup>1</sup> These pictures were withdrawn from the sale, and are now among the remaining pictures at the Hague.



that his historical pictures are very unattractive. In his portraits only he is pleasing, as in them he was true to his Netherlandish nature. One of his earlier pictures, Vulcan exposing, to the sight of the Gods, Venus and Mars, round whom he has cast a net, dated 1547, and warmly coloured, [from the Aerschot collection] in the Berlin Museum, No. 698, is a specimen both of his early attained mastery of hand, and of the tastelessness of his composition and insignificance of his heads. The Fall of the Angels, dated 1554, in the Antwerp Museum, No. 112, which is considered his chef-d'œuvre, is composed with great boldness, and shows a masterly power of painting, but it is tasteless in the animal heads of the demons, hard in outline, and crude in colour. An Adoration of the Shepherds, in the same gallery, No. 113, shows him to better advantage; the heads are animated and more true to nature than usual, and the chiaroscuro is well sustained: but the Virgin and Child are cold in the flesh-tones. Another picture there—St. Luke painting the Virgin, No. 114—is most attractive for the truthfulness and character of the heads. The saint is represented under the likeness of the painter Ryckaert Aertsz; the colour-grinder under his own. The way in which the bull is here rendered shows again the tastelessness of the master. [In the gallery of the Duke of Aerschot at Beaumont, which was dispersed in 1613, there were no less than eighteen pictures by Frans Floris.]<sup>1</sup>

MARTIN DE Vos, born at Antwerp 1531, died there 1603.<sup>2</sup> He was the best of the numerous scholars of Frans Floris. Afterwards he went to Italy, and had the benefit of Tintoretto's instruction at Venice. He then returned to Antwerp, and established a school. This painter was endowed with considerable powers of invention; and a number of his compositions are well known by means of engravings. Many of these are very attractive in character. Martin de Vos is less cold in feeling and less exaggerated in his muscular indications than Frans Floris; he is also generally careful in finish, and melting in touch; at the same time his motives are often

<sup>1</sup> [See A. Pinchart's 'Archives,' i. 160-7.]

<sup>2</sup> [Liggeren i. 379.]

mannered, his outlines hard, and his colouring crude. The Museum of Antwerp contains a whole series of his works; among them the altarpiece, dated 1574, the centre picture of which, the Incredulity of St. Thomas, No. 77, is remarkable for very finished execution. The Temptation of St. Anthony, No. 103, completed in 1594, shows a peculiar combination of the humorous and fantastic. Finally, a picture by him in the Berlin Museum, No. 709, dated 1589, with Christ appearing to the Disciples on the Sea of Tiberias on the one side, and the Prophet Jonah cast into the sea on the other, seems to herald, by the dramatic nature of the incidents, and the brilliant sunrise effect, the coming of such a master as Rubens. [This picture is not now exhibited.]

Next in order among the scholars of Frans Floris may be mentioned some members of the family of painters by name of FRANCKEN; viz., three brothers, FRANS FRANCKEN THE ELDER, born 1544, died 1616; AMBROSIUS FRANCKEN THE ELDER, born 1545, died 1618; and JEROME FRANCKEN THE ELDER,—all of whom continued the style of the master. A number of works by the second brother are in the Antwerp Museum. Among these a picture on panel representing St. Sebastian healing Zoe, the wife of Nicostrates, who was deaf and dumb, is remarkable for the vivacity of the five portraits. The three other painters Francken, who, having the same Christian names as the above-mentioned, are called the younger, painted pictures generally on a small scale. These partially betray the influence of Rubens, but, with few exceptions, are little satisfactory. We shall speak further of Frans Francken the younger, who was the most important of the three.

JOHANNES STRAET, commonly called STRADANUS, born at Bruges 1535, belongs also to this category. But as he repaired early in life to Florence, and died there at the advanced age of eighty-two, 1618, he exercised no influence on the art of his native country. He imitated the manner of Michael Angelo, with the same unfortunate results as did Vasari, to whom he acted as an assistant. He painted, however, the sports of hunting and fishing, which brought his Netherlandish nature into play. The number of his pictures

in oil and fresco were very large. Tapestries were also executed from his cartoons.<sup>1</sup>

But the most unattractive form in which the imitation of the Italian style displayed itself is seen in the works of BARTHOLOMEW SPRANGER, born in Antwerp, 1546,<sup>2</sup> died 1625. He was one of the favourite painters of the Emperor Rodolph II., at whose court at Prague he long resided. Parmigianino was the mistaken object of his imitation. His works show the most studied and forced attitudes, combined with an utter absence of feeling, and a cold tone of colour, which is red in the flesh and greenish in the shadows. His chief merit in his better productions consists in an excellent modelling, and in an admirably fused treatment. Of the numerous pictures by him in the gallery at Vienna, I quote one—Minerva treading Ignorance under foot—which is in every respect a characteristic work by him. Even this master, when he took portrait in hand, betrayed that feeling for the realistic in art which was his native Netherlandish inheritance. A proof of this is seen in his own portrait in the same gallery, which, though somewhat over-forcible in action, is truthfully felt, and painted in a warm colour.

HEINRICH GOLTZIUS, born 1558, died 1617, is a worthy companion to Spranger. He is less known by his rare pictures than by his numerous engravings, in which he shows no common versatility of power in the skilful imitation of very various masters, including Lucas van Leyden and Albert Durer; and also a wonderful mastery over his graver.<sup>3</sup> The great object of his imitation, however, is Michael Angelo, whom he seeks to rival by the most distorted attitudes, and the most violent play of spasmodically developed muscles. He treated both sacred and profane history, mythology and allegory, in the artificial taste of the day. He painted also portraits and landscape. I will only mention here, of his historical compositions, the six called his masterpieces (Bartsch, No. 15-20), of which the

<sup>1</sup> Van Mander, folio 184a.

<sup>2</sup> [The date of Spranger's birth is not known. He was a pupil of Jan Mandyn, with whom he closed his apprenticeship at Antwerp in 1557. (Liggeren. i. 205).]

<sup>3</sup> Bartsch's Catalogue of his Works, vol. iii.

Circumcision in the style of Albert Durer, and the Adoration of the Kings in that of Lucas van Leyden, are the most successful. He also appears to most advantage in his portraits, and particularly so in his own, which is the size of life (Bartsch, No. 172), and a real masterpiece. He also executed a few plates in chiaroscuro.

And here I may bring forward the name of CAREL VAN MANDER, born 1548, died 1608, who, though a devoted follower of this false style, deserves high praise as a writer upon art. Of all his numerous works, however, I know of none which I can mention with any certainty.

PIETER DE WITTE, born in Bruges,<sup>1</sup> was taken, when very young, by his parents to Florence. Here he became a skilful painter both in oil and fresco, and was variously employed by Vasari in his enormous fresco works in Rome and Florence. He thus acquired much knowledge, both in the arts of architecture and sculpture, and a particular aptitude in the decoration of buildings, all which accomplishments were called into action again in the service of the Duke of Bavaria at Munich on occasion of the building of the palace where the court resided. Although, of course, fettered by the perverted taste of his time, some of his pictures belong to the least unsatisfactory productions of the period. Those portions of the old palace at Munich which are still existing give evidence of his multifarious artistic powers. In Italy his name was translated into PIETRO CANDIDO, in consequence of which the Germans called him PETER CANDIT.

Various historical painters, in the ensuing generation, formed the transition to a better condition of art. Some of them, though still imitating the Italians, avoided the repulsive exaggerations of their predecessors; others applied with some success to that truthfulness of nature and study of colour which was the real tendency of their native school.

At the head of these historical painters stands OTHON VAN VEEN, called OTTO VÆNIUS, born at Leyden 1560, died at Brussels 1629. Although the influence of the mannered painter, Federigo Zuccherò, under whom he studied at Rome at the early age of seventeen, is seen in the frequently

<sup>1</sup> Van Mander, fol. 205a.

affected action and gaudy colouring of his works, yet a certain moderation and taste in composition, and a sense of beauty in the heads, however deficient in warmth of feeling, are observable in his works. This coldness is increased by the far-fetched allegorical allusions to which a classical education of no common order tempted him. [In 1594 he joined the Painters' Guild at Antwerp,<sup>1</sup> where he dwelt till 1620, when he became master of the Mint at Brussels.]<sup>2</sup> The number of his pictures is very considerable. Among those in the Antwerp Museum, the Calling of St. Matthew, No. 480; St. Paul before Felix, No. 484; and a portrait of Johann Miraeus, Bishop of Antwerp, No. 483, are the most remarkable. This latter, compared with his historical works, displays the customary truthfulness of character and vigorous colouring. The six pictures at Munich—the Triumph of the Catholic Church, Cabinets, Nos. 235-240—though in themselves artificial, cold, and crude, are interesting as the models of similar compositions by Rubens.

HEINRICH VAN BALEN, born at Antwerp about 1560, died there [1632]. He is cold in feeling, generally mannered in attitudes, and glassy in colouring. In his nude figures, however, he shows a pleasing character, and the melting style of his execution is very finished. His ecclesiastical subjects—for instance, the Ascension, in the church of St. Jacques at Antwerp—are the least satisfactory. His subjects taken from mythology, to which Jan Breughel frequently supplied the landscape backgrounds, are often more pleasing.

CORNELIS CORNELISSEN, commonly called CORNELIS VAN HAARLEM, born at Haarlem 1562, died 1638. He first distinguished himself by a large portrait picture executed for the Guild of Marksmen in his native city; and though he afterwards treated Biblical subjects, and also scenes from common life, chiefly composed of nude figures, yet, upon the whole, he remained true to the realistic tendency. His pictures of the class just mentioned are very unequal in merit; the heads are often vulgar, and the motives tasteless.

<sup>1</sup> [Liggeren, i., 375 519.]

<sup>2</sup> [Liggeren, ii. 108.]



The best of them show a careful modelling and a warm and clear colouring. One of his chefs-d'œuvre is Bathsheba bathing with her attendants, dated 1617, in the Berlin Gallery, No. 734, in which, with characteristic conception, David is seen, scarcely visible, in a dark corner. But his talent was little adapted to the expression of strong emotions; the Murder of the Innocents, therefore, in the Gallery of the Hague (painted in 1591), is a very disagreeable picture. As regards the department of Mythology, his Venus, Cupid, and Ceres, in the Dresden Gallery, however little the heads are in keeping with the subject, is remarkable for force and transparency of colour, and for careful finish.

[FRANZ PIETERSZ DE GREBBER, pupil of Jacques Savery, is also a painter of portrait pieces. Born at Haarlem in 1570, died at Haarlem in 1649. He was president of the Guild of Painters of his native city in 1628. There are four characteristic pictures by him in the Museum of Haarlem, all of which represent dinners of the city guard; one is signed "Frans Pieterz Grebber 1610," another "Frans P. Grebber 1619."]¹

ABRAHAM BLOEMART, born at Gorcum 1565, died at Utrecht 1658. He constitutes in many respects the link of transition to the succeeding epoch; for however his frequent mannerisms, empty heads, over-soft execution, and occasionally gaudy colouring, betray the tasteless period in which he was born, yet his later pictures especially have a well-balanced general keeping, a pure taste, and a broad touch, which render them more satisfactory. His once numerous works have now principally disappeared. An Adoration of the Shepherds, dated 1604, in the Berlin Gallery, [withdrawn,] conceived as a night-piece, is skilfully composed, and of powerful though somewhat gaudy effect. Joseph's Second Dream, with the Virgin and Child in the background, also at Berlin, No. 722, is mannered in the figure of the angel, but Joseph is a truthful and vigorous figure, and the keeping is well balanced. On the other hand, the Feast of the Gods, in the Hague Gallery, may be

¹ [Van Willigen, 'Les Artistes de Haarlem,' p. 135; Van Mander, p. 213.]

classed, by its crudeness and glassiness, with those works by him which partake of the character of the previous period. His raising of Lazarus, in the Munich Gallery, No. 187, is careful, and of better keeping and composition.

PIETER LASTMANN, born 1562,<sup>1</sup> visited Rome in 1604, where he evidently fell under the influence of Adam Elzheimer. On his return he attained such renown as to be summoned in 1619 and 1620 to paint pictures for a church in Copenhagen. He was a good draughtsman; his heads exhibit much sentiment, and his flesh colouring is warm and vigorous. In his landscape backgrounds, which generally are conspicuous parts of his pictures, the influence of Paul Bril is perceptible. Two works, St. Philip baptising the Eunuch, and a Holy Family, in the Berlin Museum, Nos. 677 and 747, [illustrate the early period of Lastmann's art, *i.e.*, 1608. Ulysses and Nausica, dated 1609, in the Brunswick Museum, a Massacre of the Innocents, and David in the Temple, signed, "Pietro Lastmann fecit anno 1613," in the same collection, give us reminiscences of Elzheimer and Bril; but dress and drapery in Jewish oriental taste foreshadow the coming of Rembrandt, who was one of Lastmann's pupils. At a later period Lastmann imitated the shadowed pieces of Caravaggio, and in this form, which also finds its reflex in Rembrandt, he painted "the Angel appearing to Manoah and his Wife," once in the Boymans Museum of Rotterdam.]<sup>2</sup>

ADRIAN VAN DER VENNE, born at Delft 1589, died at the Hague 1665, occupies a peculiar place among these painters. It was not till after he had received a classic and scientific education at Leyden that he devoted himself, under the instructions of Jerome van Diest, to the pursuit of painting. These circumstances not only influenced him in the preference of allegorical subjects in art, but contributed to

<sup>1</sup> [This date is derived from Houbraken, and requires confirmation; for Van Mander (*Schilderboeck*, p. 207), speaking of Geerit Pietersz, describes his pupil, Pieter Lastmann, as a hopeful artist at the time in Rome (1604); whence we must conclude, with C. Vosmaer (*Rembrandt Harmens van Rijn*, *Sa Vie*, etc., 1877, p. 68), that Lastmann was born in 1582 rather than 1562.]

<sup>2</sup> [For other pictures by Lastmann consult Vosmaer, *u. s.*, 474 etc.]

divide his life between the occupations of an author and a painter. A moral element distinguishable in his pictures is his zeal for the Reformation, which just then rewarded the successful struggles of the Dutch, and his respect for the reigning princes of the House of Orange. In the mode in which he conceives such subjects he shows, however, a strong sympathy with the realistic tendency of his countrymen. His portraits, many of which he introduced into his allegorical and historical pieces, such as battles, etc., are not only well-drawn, of warm and clear colouring, and very careful finish, but the other figures in his pictures have also a portraitlike look. His realistic feeling is strongly seen in various *genre* pictures and landscapes. For Prince Maurice of Orange, the King of Denmark, and other patrons, he executed numerous pictures in chiaroscuro. The largest work I know by him—in the Amsterdam Museum, No. 430—represents Prince Maurice of Orange and his brothers, with other persons of distinction, on horseback, near the Hague—figures about three-fourths the size of life. This work has, it is true, all the good qualities I have particularized above in point of keeping and execution, but also, like most of his other pictures, has something old-fashioned in character. He usually painted subjects with small figures, of which No. 432, in the Amsterdam Museum, called “*la Pêche aux Ames*” (dated 1614), is a specimen. The landscape here is painted by Jan Breughel, with Roman Catholics and Protestants on opposite sides of a stream. Several boats are also on the stream, the one containing Roman Catholic priests and monks, the other Protestant clergymen. Both are employed casting nets for figures swimming in the stream. Among the Roman Catholics are the portraits of Albert and Isabella; among the Protestants those of the Princes Maurice and Frederic Henry of Orange, and of the Elector Frederic of the Palatinate. Separate representations and inscriptions satirise the Papacy, and uphold the Evangelical Church. This rich picture is interesting both for its execution and subject. But a still more remarkable example of his art is No. 545 in the Louvre, which represents a festival in commemoration of the truce concluded

between the Archduke Albert and the United Provinces of Holland in 1609, and is inscribed "A. V. Venne Fecit 1616." The landscape is also by Jan Breughel. The mixture of portrait figures—such as those of Albert and Isabella, with mythological and allegorical features—is very remarkable. The heads are very individual, and executed with great precision in a clear golden tone. His inventions are as various as they are rich, as proved by the drawings he executed as illustrations for an edition of the works of Cats, the popular Dutch poet.

To various painters the decided and strongly realistic style with which Quentin Massys had occasionally painted scenes from common life, as for instance his *Misers*, became the model for their treatment, not only of similar subjects, but also for those of a Biblical class. But none of them come up to his standard, degenerating generally into exaggeration and repelling vulgarity.

Foremost among them is JAN MASSYS, son of the master, who lived from about 1500 to 1570. To his earlier time may be probably referred the repetitions of the *Money-changers* and other pictures by his father, Van Mander expressly saying that he was engaged on such tasks. Remarkable specimens of this class are the *Misers* at Windsor Castle, the picture in the Berlin Museum, No. 671, and that at Munich, No. 80. Next in order is the *St. Jerome*, dated 1537, in the gallery at Vienna. All these works are of warm, powerful colouring, and careful though somewhat coarse treatment. His later pictures, on the other hand, exhibit in all respects—expression, colouring, and treatment—great feebleness; for instance, his *Visitation*, dated 1558, No. 251, and his *Healing of Tobias*, dated 1564, No. 252, of the Antwerp Museum.

JAN VAN HEMESSEN, born about 1500, died before 1566, if not the scholar, is the imitator of Quentin Massys. [His name was registered amongst the masters of the Antwerp Guild in 1535, and he was "eldest" of the corporation in 1548.]<sup>1</sup> He displays usually a terrible vulgarity of forms and

<sup>1</sup> [Liggeren, i. 125, 162.]

expression, is always hard in the outlines, and of a heavy brown colouring. He often copied Quentin Massys' works. I am acquainted with three copies by him of the Call of St. Matthew which I saw in England, one in the Antwerp Gallery, No. 425, and two in the Gallery at Vienna. One of his most pleasing pictures is a small Holy Family, dated 1541, in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 100; one of his most disagreeable, a St. Jerome in the Gallery at Vienna; but in the portrait of Jan van Mabuse, also at Vienna, he shows himself as a capital painter in this department.

Another painter, closely allied to the foregoing, and of a merit which is little known, is one of the name of Hrus, by whom a bagpipe-player, and an old woman, dated 1571, exist in the Berlin Museum, No. 693.

PIETER AERTSZEN, called LANGE-PEER, born 1505, died 1573, was scholar of Allard Claessen, [but joined the Antwerp Guild in 1535].<sup>1</sup> He was a painter of extraordinary talent, and executed numerous large altarpieces in Louvain, Amsterdam, Delft, etc., most of which were destroyed by the Iconoclasts in 1566. Judging from the smaller, still existing pictures by him of Biblical subjects, they must have been conceived in a realistic and *genre*-like style. He was evidently a painter of keen observation, and as animated in composition as he was clever in practice. To these qualities is superadded, in his best works, forcible and clear colouring. A fine little picture by him is the Crucifixion in the Antwerp Museum, No. 2; [a Crucifixion of 1546, in the Hospital at Antwerp, and a] Christ bearing his Cross, in the Berlin Museum, No. 726, are characteristic specimens. This latter subject is treated quite according to the customs of the painter's time. The two thieves are accompanied by a Dominican and a Franciscan, and the Bearing of the Cross forms only an episode in the middle distance. Occasionally he painted mere market scenes, a remarkable specimen of which is in the Gallery at Vienna. [Other works are in the galleries of Cassel, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Copenhagen.]

<sup>1</sup> [Liggeren, i. 124.]



JOACHIM BUECKLAER, the scholar of the foregoing, born 1530, still living in 1573, walked quite in his master's steps. [He was registered as early as 1560 in the Guild at Antwerp, as the son of a master whose name was probably Matheus de Bueekelære.]<sup>1</sup> A Christ before Pilate, conceived in the same style as Pieter Aertszen's Bearing of the Cross, is in the Munich Gallery, No. 78. His market and kitchen scenes were also very popular.

PIETER BRUEGHEL THE ELDER, also called PEASANT BREUGHEL, born at Brueghel, near Breda, about 1530, became member of the Painters' Guild in 1551, visited Rome about 1553, and died [at Brussels] 1569. Although he also, on rare occasions, treated Biblical subjects in the same style as the preceding painters, yet he was the first who applied himself to the study of various forms of peasant life, and made it the chief subject of his art. His mode of viewing these scenes is always clever but coarse, and even sometimes vulgar. Occasionally he painted ghost and incantation scenes in the manner of Jerome Bosch. His treatment is in a warm tone, generally broad and sometimes slight. He also made skilful drawings, when travelling, from any landscapes which attracted him, and executed an etching of very picturesque character from one of these sketches. Woodcuts from his designs are occasionally met with. The Gallery at Vienna contains remarkable pictures by this master. Of his historical works, a Crucifixion, of the year 1563, a rich composition, is particularly worthy of note; the heads of the Virgin, etc., are of elevated expression. The Building of the Tower of Babel, of the same year, shows him in his fantastic landscape element. His humorous side is seen in his pictures of Winter, Spring, and Autumn (the latter a landscape of much poetry), and in a Fight between Carnival and Lent, dated 1559, which abounds with droll, and also with some coarse incidents. A Peasant Wedding, finally, is truthfully composed, and full of clever invention.

His eldest son, PIETER BREUGHEL THE YOUNGER, was also called, from the nature of his subjects, HELL BREUGHEL.

<sup>1</sup> [Liggeren, i. 123, 220, 253.]

<sup>2</sup> [Ib. ib. 275.]

[He was registered a master at Antwerp in 1585, married in 1588, and died at Antwerp in 1638.]<sup>1</sup> In invention, colouring, and technical merit he is far inferior to his father. His composition is generally lame, his heads spiritless, his flesh of a heavy leathery brown tone, and his touch very mechanical. Examples may be seen in his Christ bearing the Cross, in the Antwerp Museum, No. 31, and in a picture in the Berlin Museum, No. 721. The pictures called by his name at Dresden and Munich are by his younger brother Jan Breughel.

This JAN BREUGHEL, called VELVET BREUGHEL, born at Brussels 1568, [bought the freedom of Antwerp 1601, matriculated there in 1597, and]<sup>2</sup> died 1625, was a far more gifted painter, and of a versatility of talent which is rarely found. Though more especially a landscape painter, in which aspect we shall presently regard him, he takes also as subject-painter an important place among his contemporaries. His peasant subjects, though never rising above a coarse reality, are of a lively character. The same may be said of his Scriptural pictures, on a very small scale—namely, his Scenes in Hell—and of his demoniacal subjects, laid sometimes in the ancient Tartarus, and which are conceived with strong effects of light. A clear and vigorous colouring, and a careful finish, are peculiar to these as well as to all his works. On the other hand, he is often wanting in general keeping. The Galleries of Dresden, Munich, and Berlin contain numerous pictures by him, and various specimens of those subjects.

DAVID VINCKEBOONS, commonly written VINCKEBOOMS, born at Mechlin 1578, died at Amsterdam 1629. This master is allied in many respects to the foregoing, though he moved in a far narrower circle. He also was a landscape as well as *genre* painter. He is fond of representing low life in the country, under those rude aspects which occur at fairs and festivals. His figures are of repelling ugliness and vulgarity, and his flesh-tones of a hard discordant red. Pictures of this kind are in the above-mentioned Galleries.

<sup>1</sup> [Liggeren i. 292, 520, ii., 108.]

<sup>2</sup> [Ib. ib. 397.]

LUCAS VAN VALKENBURG, born at Mechlin, died 1625, painted scenes from peasant and soldier life in a somewhat grey but harmonious tone. His figures are of moderate drawing, but have a certain elegance. His execution is very finished. The best pictures I know by him are in the Vienna Gallery, where may also be seen specimens of his brothers FREDERICK and MARTIN VAN VALKENBURG, painters of the same class of subjects, but of weaker character.

SEBASTIAN VRANCX, born about 1573, [of the Antwerp Guild in 1610, died at Antwerp 1638],<sup>1</sup> is one of the earliest painters who especially devoted himself to battle-scenes, combats of horsemen, the plunder of villages, etc. His conception of action is truthful and touching, his brown-reddish colouring somewhat heavy, his execution tolerably broad, but careful. An excellent picture of this class is in the Vienna Gallery.

FRANS FRANCKEN THE YOUNGER, born at Antwerp 1581, died 1642. He was one of the best *genre*-painters appertaining to the last generation of this period. His works combine felicitous invention, much feeling for grace of action, able drawing, fine keeping, and a spirited touch. Only in his colour is he somewhat heavy. He painted the foreground figures in the architectural pictures of Pieter Neefs, of Van Bassen, and Josse de Momper, with great success. One of his most remarkable works is the Witch's Sabbath, dated 1607, in the Gallery at Vienna—perhaps the most complete representation that imagination has presented to us of this frightful world of fiction. In his later historical pictures, of which the Antwerp Museum possesses examples, he is less fortunate.

Upon the whole, the most satisfaction by far, at this period, as regards Netherlandish art, is, as I have before stated, derived from the portrait-painters.

The earliest of these is JOAS VAN CLEVE of Antwerp. Of the date of his birth and death nothing positive is known; he flourished from about 1530 to 1550. According to Vasari he visited Spain, and painted portraits for the Court of

<sup>1</sup> [Liggeren, i. 293, ii., 108.]

France.<sup>1</sup> At all events it is certain that he laboured for a time in England, where the great success of Sir Antonis Moro is said to have disordered his brain. The few pictures, however, that can still be assigned to him thoroughly justify the high reputation he enjoyed in his time. The style of art may be classed between that of Holbein and Antonis Moro. His well-drawn forms are decided, without being hard; and the warm and transparent colouring recalls the great masters of the Venetian school. Two of his best works are the portraits of himself and wife in Windsor Castle. Not less successful is his own portrait in Lord Spencer's collection at Althorp. His pictures are frequently mistaken for those of Holbein, of which I have given some instances in my 'Treasures of Art.'

Next in order after Joas van Cleve comes SIR ANTONIS MORO, born [at Utrecht in 1525, died at Antwerp in 1578. He was admitted into the Guild of Antwerp in 1547, and is still registered as a master there in 1572.]<sup>2</sup> He attended the school of Jan Schoreel in his youth, and afterwards visited Italy. On his return [in 1549] the recommendation of Cardinal Granvelle procured him admission to the service of Charles V., with whom his art found such favour that the Emperor sent him [1550]<sup>3</sup> to Lisbon to take the portrait of his son Philip's betrothed bride. Afterwards he repaired [1553], and doubtless for a long period, to England, in order to paint Philip's second wife, Catholic Queen Mary. Subsequently he again spent some time at the Spanish Court at Madrid, and finally returned to the Netherlands, where he was much employed by the Duke of Alva. In all countries he earned praise, honours, and money. In his now rare historical pictures he exhibits one of the most repulsive forms of the Netherland-Italian style. In portraiture, on

<sup>1</sup> [Guicciardini, L., in 'Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi,' p. 143, says "that Francis sent for 'Gios de Cleves,' who went to France and painted the King, the Queen, and other princes." Comte de Laborde ('Renaissance des Arts,' p. 921) confesses that he could find no traces of Cleves' presence or pictures in France. Joas is known in old English collections, *ex. gr.* the Buckingham collection, as 'Sotto Cleeve.']

<sup>2</sup> [Liggeren, i., 159, 249.]

<sup>3</sup> [A. Pinchart in 'Messager des Sciences,' 1868, pp. 324 and following.]

the other hand, his truthful feeling, good drawing, masterly and careful painting, and transparent and admirable colour, rendered him one of the best masters of his time. The portraits of his middle period are distinguished by their warmer and more vigorous colouring from the paler and less carefully finished works of his later time. Among his best pictures in England are those of Catholic Queen Mary and the Earl of Essex, in the collection of Lord Yarborough in London, and of Sir Henry Sidney and his lady, dated 1553, in the collection of Colonel Egremont Wyndham at Petworth. No gallery is, however, so instructive, as regards this painter, as that of Vienna. Of his earlier time I will only cite his finely-felt and warmly-coloured picture, in a reddish tone, of Cardinal Granvelle, dated 1549; his less warmly toned, but delicately-conceived portrait of a young man with a scar, dated 1564; [Jeanne d'Archel, of 1568, No. 184 in the National Gallery]; and the pictures of a young married couple, of cooler local tones and whitish lights, of 1575. The Dresden Gallery possesses also, under the erroneous name of Holbein, two female portraits of his best time, Nos. 1817 and 1818. [In the collection of Mary of Hungary (1558) there were no less than six portraits of royal persons by Moro;<sup>1</sup> and of these the best are still in the Museum of Madrid, *ex. gr.*: Queen Eleanor of France, Mary of Portugal, and Catherine of Portugal. Besides these the Museum contains the likenesses of Mary of England, Anna, the wife of Maximilian, King of Bohemia, and Philip II.]

[PIETER POURBUS, born at Gouda in the first years of the sixteenth century, settled at Bruges in 1540, entered the Guild of St. Luke in 1543, and died at Bruges in 1584. He was a portrait-painter, and a composer of sacred subjects. Of the former, the likenesses of John and Adrienne Fernagant, in the Academy of Bruges (1551), are fine specimens. Of the latter, the Last Judgment (1551) and the Descent from the Cross (1570), in the same collection, are characteristic.]

[FRANZ POURBUS THE ELDER, born in 1542, was the son and disciple of Pieter Pourbus; but he afterwards studied under

<sup>1</sup> [A. Pinchart in 'Revue Universelle des Arts,' iii., 133.]



Franz Floris. He wandered from Bruges to Antwerp in 1564, and was admitted into the Painters' Guild of that city in 1569. He was still a member of Guild in 1575, and, according to Van Mander, he died in 1580, the year of his father's death.]<sup>1</sup> Though proceeding from the pernicious school of Franz Floris, Peter Pourbus the elder occupies a worthy place as a portrait-painter. If inferior to the foregoing in refinement of drawing, he surpasses them all in golden and clear colouring. As an example of this class I may mention the portrait of a man, dated 1568, with his right hand on his side, his left on the hilt of his sword, in the Gallery at Vienna.

WILLEM KEY, born [at Breda in 1520, took the freedom of the Antwerp Guild in 1541], died 1568. This artist must have been a remarkable portrait-painter, the Duke of Alva having selected him to paint his portrait; but I cannot at this time assign with certainty any picture to him.

NICHOLAS NEUCHATEL, called LUCIDEL, [born early in the sixteenth century, entered the workshop of Pieter Coeck of Alost at Antwerp in 1539, settled at Mons in 1540, and at Nuremberg before 1561.]<sup>1</sup> This admirable Belgian portrait-painter, who afterwards settled at Nuremberg, has left us the masterly portrait of the Mathematician instructing his Son, now in the Munich Gallery, No. 120. The relationship between the two figures gives the truthfully conceived heads a double interest. The local tones of the flesh are of a cool reddish, the shadows gray. [There are numerous portraits by him at Prague, one very fine, dated 1564, in the house of Count Erwin von Nostitz.]

GUALDORP GORTZIUS, called GELDORP, born at Louvain, 1553, is seen to far greater advantage in his portraits than in his now chiefly vanished historical pictures, which are praised by Van Mander.<sup>3</sup> He was a scholar of Frans Franck the elder and of Frans Pourbus the elder, and settled later

<sup>1</sup> [Consult Weale, 'Catalogue de l'Academie de Bruges,' pp. 36 and following, the Liggeren, pp. 237, 249, and 261, and Van Mander, u. s., 257.]

<sup>2</sup> [Liggeren, i. 135, and W. Schmidt in von Zahn's 'Jahrbücher,' v., 143 and following.]

<sup>3</sup> Folio 195b.

in Cologne, where several of his pictures are preserved. The earlier are of lively conception, and carefully painted in a vigorous colour. In his later works he is cold in tone and superficial in treatment.

Among the respectable portrait-painters of this time must also be reckoned CORNELIS KETEL, born at Gouda 1548. He painted Queen Elizabeth in 1578; later, various personages of her Court; and subsequently the Company of Marksmen at Amsterdam, and also some other company. My efforts to discover either of these pictures, or any in England by him, have not been successful.

On the other hand, a number of pictures exist by the hand of MARK GERARD of Bruges, one of the most favourite portrait-painters of the English Court in the reign of Elizabeth, who died in 1635. Not that he is by any means one of the best artists of this epoch, being somewhat tame in conception, and weak in drawing and colouring. The chief interest of his portraits, therefore, consists in the importance of his sitters, so that I may limit my notice to three very characteristic portraits—Queen Elizabeth, Lord Burleigh, and Lord Essex—in the collection of the Marquis of Exeter at Burleigh House.<sup>1</sup>

FRANS POURBUS THE YOUNGER, born 1570, [free of the Guild at Antwerp in 1591], died [in Paris] 1622, scholar of his father of the same name. Like him he was favourably distinguished as a portrait-painter, though inferior to him in warmth of colouring and solidity of impasto. He flourished for some time at the Court of Henry IV. of France, and took various portraits of that monarch, and also of his Queen, Mary of Medicis. The most important of his portraits in the Louvre is of that Queen, No. 396. The two smaller pictures also of the King, Nos. 394 and 395, 1610, deserve to be noticed. [Another fine portrait of Catherine de Medicis, as a widow (after 1610), is in the Madrid Museum.]

PAUL VAN SOMER, born at Antwerp 1570, died 1624. He laboured for many years in England, where consequently his best works still remain. His conception is truthful and

<sup>1</sup> 'Treasures of Art,' etc., vol. iii. p. 407, etc.

<sup>2</sup> [Liggeren, i. 364.]

lively, his colouring warm and clear, and his execution finished. His portrait of Lord Bacon at Panshanger is excellent; also those of the well-known Earl of Arundel and his Countess at Arundel Castle, seat of the Duke of Norfolk.

Most of the remaining portrait-painters of the latest generation of this epoch were Dutchmen.

MICHAEL JANSE MIEREVELT, born at Delft 1567, died 1641. With a simple and truthful feeling for his subject he combines clear and often warm colouring. The number of his works is very considerable. A series of his works are in the Hôtel de Ville at Delft. In an archery piece of 1611, the largest picture by him known to me, with numerous figures, he does not appear to advantage. Although the heads are animated, the colouring is somewhat heavy, and the treatment rather mechanical. The portraits of William I. and II., and Maurice of Saxony, in the Burgomaster's room, are better. On the other hand, in respect of excellence of conception, clear colouring, and careful execution, the bust portrait of Hugo Grotius, in the same place, is admirable. Especially soft, for this master, are three children over the chimney-piece. Fine examples of his art are in the Louvre, in the Dresden, Munich, and Amsterdam Galleries. Among his best scholars are his son Peter Mierevelt and Paul Moreelse.

[PAUL MOREELSE, according to the current chronology, was born at Utrecht in 1571, and died there in 1638. He is described by Van Mander (1604) as a young artist, a pupil of Mierevelt, possessing mastery in portraits. In the Museum of Rotterdam there were seven of his pictures. One only now remains, representing Vertumnus and Pomona. The rest were burnt in the fire of 1864. The Museum of the Hague contains two portraits; the Gallery of Amsterdam a shepherdess, a little princess, Frederick of Bohemia, and Mary of Utrecht, dated 1615. In the Museum at Berlin we shall find a fine portrait of a lady, with the monogram and the date 1626. The style of this artist deserves to be studied, not because it is that of a first-class painter, but because Moreelse is one of the forerunners of Rembrandt.]<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Consult Van Mander, p. 213, and Burger, 'Musées de la Hollande, ii. 193.]

In close affinity with the last is JOHANN WILHELM DELFT, by whom is another archery subject, signed and dated 1592, in the Hôtel de Ville at Delft. This picture contains many figures, and exhibits truthfulness of feeling and good painting, though it is somewhat hard in outline, and heavy in its brown colouring.

JACOB DELFT : by this painter is a remarkable female portrait in the Städel Institute at Frankfort.

DANIEL MYTENS, born at the Hague. Like Van Somer, he spent his active years in England. In 1625 he was engaged by Charles I. at a salary of 20*l.*, and it appears that he remained in that King's service till towards 1630. About that time he probably left England. This master is characterised by great simplicity of manner and a general effect of lightness of colour. In his flesh-tones he is often inclined to the silvery. His tenderly fused execution is careful. Two pictures of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria in their youthful days, with the dwarf Sir Geoffrey Hudson, various dogs and a grey horse, all life size, constitute his chefs-d'œuvre. The one is at the seat of Lord Galway, Serlby, Nottinghamshire; the other in the collection of the Countess of Dunmore, Dunmore Park, near Falkirk. Mytens occasionally painted small pictures of great delicacy. Two very pretty examples of this class, the portraits of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, with architectural background by the elder Steenwyck, are in the Dresden Gallery, Nos. 1024 and 1025, under the erroneous title of Gonsales Coques. Another, with Charles and his Queen, and one of their children, in one picture, is in the Royal Gallery, Buckingham Palace.

CORNELIUS JANSEN, supposed to have been born in London of Flemish parents.<sup>1</sup> At all events he was long in England, where he painted for Charles I., and left it in 1648. He continued to paint portraits in Holland with great success till his death in 1665. He was an artist of refined feeling for nature, tasteful in composition, warm and tender in colouring, and of melting execution. Among the many pictures by him scattered through England, I will mention only that of Frederick Elector of the Palatinate, in the

<sup>1</sup> Sandrart, vol. i. p. 379.

Gallery of Hampton Court; of Lady Dorothy Neville, at Burleigh House; of John Taylor, master of the revels at the Court of Charles I., and his own portrait, at Longford Castle. He also occasionally executed portraits on a small scale. An example is seen in that of Charles I. with persons of his Court in the Green Park, in the Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace.

At this time also the painters of animals grew into a distinct class, though some Biblical title, such as Adam and Eve in Paradise, was given to pictures whose chief interest lay in animal life. The best painter of this order was ROELANDT SAVERY, born at Courtray 1576, died 1639. His scenes, in which a very brown tone generally prevails, are often overfilled with animals, each singly of much truth of nature. One of his best pieces, Paradise, is in the Berlin Museum, No. 710. Various pictures with wild rocky scenery, in which savage animals dwell, have something fantastic.

Next to him in this class is JAN BREUGHEL [born 1601, still living in 1677],<sup>1</sup> already described as a *genre*-painter. His animal pieces often show the influence of Rubens, and surpass those of Roelandt Savery in transparency and truth of colouring. Good specimens of this kind are in the Dresden and Berlin Galleries, in the Louvre, and also at Madrid. His chief picture is also a Paradise in the Hague Gallery, in which the figures of Adam and Eve are finely painted by the hand of Rubens.

Jan Breughel was followed by FERDINAND VAN KESSEL, a painter of greater hardness and dryness.

Landscape painting, also, according to Van Mander's account, was carefully treated at this period; but, of the painters whom he celebrates as belonging to this class, FRANS MINNEBROER, JAN DE HOLLANDER, [master at Antwerp in 1522, still living there in 1538],<sup>2</sup> JACQUES GRIMMER, [apprenticed at Antwerp in 1539, master in 1547, still living in 1589],<sup>3</sup> MICHAEL DE GAST, and HENDRIK VAN CLEEF,

<sup>1</sup> See A. Michiels in 'Gazette des Beaux Arts,' 1868, p. 105 and following.]

<sup>2</sup> [Liggeren, i. 100 and 132.]

<sup>3</sup> [Liggeren, i. 135, 159, 205, 336.]



[master at Antwerp in 1550, and still living in 1589],<sup>1</sup> no picture ever reached my eyes. A few, however, by LUCAS GASSEL, who flourished before and after the middle of the sixteenth century, have been preserved. He continued the fantastic manner of Patenier, with strangely-formed rocks and a number of well-executed details. In colouring he is somewhat monotonous and cool. A landscape, with Judah and Thamar, in the Vienna Gallery, bears his monogram and the date 1548. I have seen other pictures, dated respectively 1538 and 1561, in private collections, though, in their liability to change hands, I do not quote them.

A remarkable advance in the art of landscape painting was made by the brothers MATTHEW BRIL, born at Antwerp 1556, died at Rome 1580, and PAUL BRIL, born 1556, died 1626. The early death of the elder gave no scope for any extended activity: he was, however, the instructor of his brother, who joined him in Rome, and soon displayed the highest abilities of the two. Paul Bril painted both in oil and fresco, and left behind him a large number of works.<sup>2</sup> He viewed nature with a fresh eye—selecting her natural and poetic rather than her arbitrary and fantastic features. He was the first to introduce a certain unity of light in his pictures, attaining thereby a far finer general effect than those who had preceded him. His deficiencies lie in the over force, and also in the monotonous green, of his foregrounds, and in the exaggerated blueness of his distances. Nevertheless, this painter exercised a considerable and beneficial influence over Rubens, Annibale Carracci, and Claude Lorraine, and must ever occupy an important position in the development of this branch of art. Only in his earlier works, and then rarely, does he betray the fantastic element, as, for instance, in his *Building of the Tower of Babel*, in the Berlin Museum, No. 731. His later qualities, and especially his treatment of the general lighting of a scene, are observable in a morning landscape, also at Berlin, No.

<sup>1</sup> [Ib. ib. 176.]

<sup>2</sup> See regarding this master the notice by Ed. Fetis in the 'Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique' of 1855, p. 594-616.

744. Fine examples of his best time are in the Louvre, especially Nos. 67, 71, and 73.

LUCAS VAN VALKENBURG.—We here again encounter this already-mentioned painter and his brothers, under the character of landscape-painters. They attached themselves more particularly to the earlier style, which was distinguished by its great minuteness of detail. The pictures by Lucas have frequently something naïve, and a peculiar poetic charm. The Vienna Gallery possesses the best landscapes by the three brothers.

JOSSE DE MOMPER, [the son of Bartholomew de Momper, was admitted to the Guild of St. Luke at Antwerp in 1581],<sup>1</sup> died in 1622. Although younger than Paul Bril, he retains much more of the fantastic modes of conception which distinguished the earlier landscape painters. He generally introduces us to lofty hills and bold forms in striking sunlight, and is often untruthful in colour and of slight and mannered treatment. His pictures are numerous, for instance in the Dresden and Vienna Galleries. In his later works only he occasionally attained considerable power and keeping, as seen in a landscape in the Berlin Museum, No. 772.<sup>2</sup> He was also a skilful etcher. The figures in his foregrounds were executed by various painters; by Peter Breughel the younger, several members of the numerous Francken family, David Teniers the elder, and Henrik van Balen. [One of these pictures, a Rest in Egypt, executed 1642, with figures by H. van Balen, is in the church of Notre Dame at Antwerp.]<sup>3</sup>

And here again we come upon JAN BREUGHEL, who was a landscape-painter of no mean merit. He treated the flat scenes of his native land, intersected with canals and rows of trees, with truthfulness and considerable detail, though he is wanting in the general keeping of the picture. His smaller pictures of this class are often attractive. Henrik van Balen, Rothenhammer, and even occasionally Rubens, painted ideal figures in his landscapes.

WILLEM VAN NIEULANDT, ANTON MYRON, and PETER GYS-

<sup>1</sup> [Liggeren, i. 114, 588.]

<sup>2</sup> This picture is not by Josse but by F. d. Momper.

<sup>3</sup> [Liggeren, i. 365.]

SENS, followed the same style as Jan Breughel, and their works are often mistaken for his.

Finally, we must not omit to notice two painters already mentioned, ROELANDT SAVERY and DAVID VINCKEBOONS, in their character as landscape painters. The first is inferior to Jan Breughel in truthfulness, but excels him in poetic feeling, especially in the representation of fine woods. An excellent example of his merits in this department is in the Berlin Museum, No. 717A. Vinckeboons is somewhat heavy and gloomy in tone, but otherwise, compared with Jan Breughel, has much about the same qualities as Roelandt Savery.

Of the same period and tendency may be reckoned the already-mentioned PETER LASTMANN, ALEXANDER KIERINGS, and HANS PILEN. The pictures of the first named are distinguished by foreground figures, taken from scriptural subjects, and executed with much art.

Marine painting appears to have been first cultivated in Holland, where it subsequently attained its highest form of development. HENDRICK CORNELIUS VROOM, born at Haarlem in 1566, [died there in 1640.]<sup>1</sup> He is the earliest known master of this class. He visited Spain and Italy, entering into an intimacy with Paul Bril, by which his art was greatly benefited. Afterwards he visited England, where he executed a drawing (1601) of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, for the Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral of England. Of his once highly-prized pictures only few are preserved. A picture of considerable size by him, in a side apartment of the Hôtel de la Ville at Haarlem, represents large vessels and a town in the background. The execution is careful and the sky clear, but the green water and the weak perspective show his department of art in a very primitive stage. A picture in the Amsterdam Museum, No. 445, is, on the other hand, too broad and decorative in treatment.

ADAM WILLAERTS, born at Antwerp 1577, lived and died at Utrecht, probably [after 1666]. He painted pre-eminently coast and harbour scenes, and enlivened them with numerous figures. With all attention to detail, he combines also a

<sup>1</sup> [A. Van der Willigen, 'Les Artistes de Haarlem,' p. 320.]

successful effort at general keeping, and a broad and soft touch. He never quite succeeded in mastering the movement of the waves. A good specimen of him is in the Berlin Museum, No. 711. He sometimes diverged from his usual subjects and painted markets and festive scenes. A picture of this class, of vigorous colour and somewhat decorative treatment, is in the Antwerp Museum, No. 499.

BONAVENTURA PETERS, born at Antwerp 1614, [master in 1634, died at Antwerp 1652.]<sup>1</sup> He was a marine-painter who especially represented the sea in its most tempestuous forms, with vessels running ashore or struck by lightning. His pictures have generally a very poetic character, though often untrue and mannered in the forms of the hills, the clouds, and in the movement of the waves. On the other hand, they have the merit of a great power and clearness of colour, and of a masterly handling. They are rare in public galleries, with the exception of Vienna, which possesses five, and all of them signed. One of them, a vessel being wrecked in a raging storm, is poetic, and very transparent, but the waves are too parallel in their action. The companion to it, with an ancient monument on the shore, though otherwise of great merit, is defective in the forms of the clouds. Two others, companions, dated 1645, one a Venetian fort stormed by Turks, with a mine in the act of exploding, and the other a fortified harbour, show a more refined feeling for form with the same transparency.

JAN PETERS, born at Antwerp 1624, [master in the Antwerp Guild 1645],<sup>2</sup> died 1677, a younger brother of the foregoing, painted similar subjects with success. A picture bearing his name in the Munich Gallery, No. 336, with a violent storm, and vessels being dashed against a rocky coast, is beautifully composed and lighted. But the over-brown colour of the rocks, and the coming up of the brown ground through the water, somewhat disturb the keeping.

The branch of architectural painting was comparatively early of development. JAN FREDEMANN DE VRIES was born at Leeuwarden in 1527. This artist went through a scientific

<sup>1</sup> [Liggeren, ii. 59.]

<sup>2</sup> [Liggeren, ii. 129, 167.]

study of the works of Vitruvius and Serlio, and devoted himself, with no common result, to this class of art. Like the landscape-painters before noticed, his works take their title from the figures in the foreground, though the rich architecture which occupies the surrounding space, and in which the laws both of lineal and aerial perspective are effectively observed, forms the real subject. The tone in which these architectural forms are treated is generally delicate, clear, and cool. The best works I know by him are a series of pictures in the fine summer council-chamber in the Hôtel de Ville at Dantzic, in which, however, the figures are in the mannered taste of his time.

Architectural painting was further developed by HENDRIK VAN STEENWYCK, born 1550, [master at Antwerp in 1577],<sup>1</sup> died 1604, who was scholar of the preceding master. He painted chiefly interiors of Gothic churches, on a small scale, generally enlivened with figures by some of the numerous Francken family. He was the first to represent the effect of the light of torches and tapers on architectural forms. The fine perspective, both lineal and aerial, observed in his pictures, gives them a lasting value, though the execution of his architectural detail is somewhat hard and metallic. Admirable specimens of his art are in the Vienna Gallery.

PIETER NEEFS, born at Antwerp 1570, [entered the Antwerp Guild in 1609], died 1651, was the best of Steenwyck's scholars. He painted quite in the same style, but excelled his master in power and warmth of tone, and also in the truthfulness of his torchlight effects. An excellent picture of this class is in the Louvre, No. 346. Other fine specimens by him are also there, and in the Gallery at Vienna. Many of his works are enlivened by figures by Frans Francken the younger, by Jan Breughel, and by David Teniers the elder.

HENDRIK VAN STEENWYCK THE YOUNGER, son of the other Steenwyck, was a fellow-scholar with Pieter Neefs, but painted in a cooler tone, and was inferior to him in all respects. His works are also seen in the Vienna Gallery, and a larger one in the Berlin Museum. PIETER NEEFS THE

<sup>1</sup> [Liggeren, i. 263.]



YOUNGER, [born 1601, died after 1658], the son and pupil of the elder of this name, was also of inferior merit. Pictures by him are in the Vienna Gallery.

BARTHOLOMEW VAN BASSEN flourished from about 1610 to 1650. He formed his style independently of the preceding knot of artists; painted chiefly interiors of Renaissance churches, and also saloons of the same architectural character. His figures are usually the work of Frans Francken the younger. Though his pictures display careful detail and exact perspective, yet they are wanting in aim, and are often crude in effect and hard in forms. A specimen both of his church and of his saloon interiors is in the Berlin Museum.

The first examples of flower and fruit painting as a separate branch occur towards the end of this period, and here again we meet with the versatile hand of JAN BREUGHEL. His flower-pieces are comparatively rare; the single flowers are executed with feeling and great truthfulness of form and colour, but the general effect is without keeping. A chef-d'œuvre of this class is a large flower-piece in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, No. 226. Also a large wreath of flowers in the Louvre, No. 429, with a Virgin and Child, by Rubens, painted in the centre.

Although miniature painting in this epoch, when so many monuments of art of greater size were in existence, no longer maintains that important position which we have accorded to it at an earlier period, yet two Belgian artists, who devoted themselves to this branch of painting in the second half of the sixteenth century, were so remarkable, and also so celebrated in their time, that I cannot pass them over in silence.

HANS BOL, born at Mechlin 1534, died in Amsterdam 1593. In his earlier time he devoted himself to the execution of larger pictures in size colours, but afterwards applied himself exclusively to miniature painting, in which he produced a large number of works. In his subjects taken from history the mannered taste of the school of Frans Floris prevails; but in his more numerous landscapes, with small figures from life, he combines picturesqueness of composition

and good drawing with a very finished and clever execution. His general tone, however, is frequently too cold, and he is deficient in keeping. The merit of his portraits, animals, fruits, and flowers is their truth. Like the earlier miniature-painters, his practice was in body colours. True also to the old fashion, he decorated manuscripts with his miniatures, but more frequently painted small landscapes on single sheets. As an example of the first kind, I mention a small prayer-book in the Imperial Library at Paris, Supplement Latin (No. 708), executed in 1582. Of the second class will be found some beautiful little pictures in the cabinet of miniatures at Munich, and in the cabinet of engravings at Berlin. Hans Bol also etched a small number of plates, with much success, from his own designs.

JOORIS HOEFNAGEL, born in Antwerp 1545, died in Vienna 1600. He received the instruction of Hans Bol; but, owing to a very careful education, he became an artist of much more extended powers. He travelled in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. In the latter country he was first in the service of the Duke of Bavaria at Munich, afterwards in that of the Emperor Rodolph II. at Prague, but resided at Vienna. Owing to an uncommon facility of drawing, and to an untiring industry, the number of drawings, of every possible subject, made on these journeys, and also the amount of his miniatures, is astonishingly large. They comprise sacred and secular history, scenery, animals, plants, flowers, fruits, precious stones, pearls, etc. He also especially decorated manuscripts in the old manner and with the old technical materials. The most famous among them is a Roman missal, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna (No 1784), which he executed for the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, and on which he laboured from 1582 to 1590, a period of eight years. He here appears as a very clever eclectic painter, versed both in all the spiritual allusions of the early time, and also in the technical materials and forms of ornamentation,—a knowledge which he applied with great skill. Occasionally he shows signs of an allegorical, but often artificial, mysticism peculiar to himself, and degenerates sometimes into an overlaid and tasteless manner. He

availed himself often of the emblematic representations from the *Biblia Pauperum*; and in his historical subjects made use of the motives of Raphael and other painters; in his ornaments also he adopted alternately, and with masterly handling, the earlier manner of the Netherlandish, German, and Italian miniature-painters; and finally studied the miniatures of Giulio Clovio. Next to this missal I may mention two works executed for Rodolph II., one of which represents, in four books, the walking, the creeping, the flying, and the swimming animals; the other books contain various subjects. Hoefnagel also often painted single pieces; for instance, the Glorification of the Spanish Monarchy, dated 1573, in the Library at Brussels. The numerous emblematic representations are in the artificial and tasteless spirit of the times; but the execution is of indescribable pains and finish.

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## CHAPTER II.

### PAINTING IN GERMANY.

THE aspect of painting in Germany and Switzerland at this period is less satisfactory than in the Netherlands. We especially miss a chief centre of activity, such as Antwerp afforded. The early schools of Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ulm, and Cologne had died out, and in their stead, both in these and other places, only isolated painters occur. Historical painting, it is true, took the same course as in the Netherlands, but its few scattered masters appeared later on the scene. That rich development of subject and landscape painting also, for which the Netherlands had been distinguished, found no equivalent here. Portrait painting, on the other hand, was successfully pursued, though not so as to rival the best masters of the Flemish and Dutch school.

HANS STEPHANUS, known in the history of art by the name of HANS VON CALCAR, from the town of that name on the

Lower Rhine, where he was probably born 1510.<sup>1</sup> He was the first to turn, and with great success, to the Italian school, residing in Venice from 1536 to 1537, in the school of Titian, whose manner he so entirely adopted that it becomes occasionally difficult to distinguish their respective works. He there executed the admirable drawings for the woodcuts which illustrate the well-known work by Vesalius on anatomy, and afterwards went to Naples, where Vasari became acquainted with him in 1545, and where, according to Van Mander, he died in 1546. I know no historical picture by him; but his very rare existing portraits thoroughly justify the favourable testimony of Vasari. They show also a really great affinity to Titian, being less energetic, but very delicate in feeling for nature, in which they approach close to Giovanni Battista Morone, excellent in drawing, and very carefully coloured in a clear, warm, and somewhat reddish tone. A very fine portrait of a man, formerly attributed alternately to Paris Bordone and to Tintoretto, is in the Louvre; another, with a letter in his hand, at Vienna; a third in the Museum at Berlin, No. 190.

Many of the German painters, in their earlier efforts, adhered, even in this department, to the style of the former period, and only sought to adopt the qualities of Italian art at a later time. Conspicuous among this class is BARTHOLOMEW DE BRUYN, who flourished in Cologne from [1533 till his death in 1556].<sup>2</sup> His earlier creations approximate closely to those of his master, the painter of the Death of the Virgin. His principal works of this time are the wings of the large shrine upon the high altar of the church of Xanten [ordered in 1529, and finished in 1536].<sup>3</sup> The inner sides contain events from the legends of SS. Victor, Sylvester, and Helena; the outer ones the figures of three saints, with the Virgin and Child, SS. Gereon and Constantine, and four half circles. The heads and figures are of elevated character, the forms fullish, the execution very able, and the tone of uncommon

<sup>1</sup> The statement of his having been born in 1500 is destitute of all foundation.

<sup>2</sup> [Merlo, 'Die Meister der Altkölnische Schule,' u. s., p. 72.]

<sup>3</sup> [Merlo, 'Nachrichten,' u. s., p. 158.]

warmth and vigour. His portraits of the same period, such as the Burgomaster Jan van Ryht, painted 1525, in the Berlin Museum, No. 588, and of one Browiller, painted 1535, in the Cologne Museum, so closely resemble Holbein as generally to be designated by his name. His Descent from the Cross, with wings, in the Munich Gallery, Cabinets, Nos. 112, 113, and 114, is also a good work of the same epoch. Although he deteriorated afterwards, both in thoroughness of execution and in truth of tone, yet he retains the same Holbein-like style of treatment. This we see in a Virgin and Child adored by a Duke of Cleves, in the Berlin Museum, No. 639. After this time he attempted to adopt the characteristics of Italian art, after the fashion of Martin van Hemskerck, the results of which were heads devoid of interest, tasteless motives, cold and insipid colouring, and slight execution. Even his portraits of this time are poorly coloured and slightly painted. A number of his works of this class are to be seen in the Munich and Cologne Galleries.

In Westphalia we find a family of painters, by the name of Tom RING, at Munster. LUDGER THE ELDER [b. 1496, d. 1547. His chief] work, dated 1538, in the collection of the Westphalian Art Union, represents Christ and the Virgin interceding with the Almighty, who, surrounded with angels, is about to destroy the sinful world. The painter here decidedly adheres to the early German school, showing dignified and stern feeling, and thorough execution. His son, HERMANN TOM RING, [b. 1521, d. 1599,] judged by his chief work, the Resurrection of Lazarus, of the year 1546, in the Munster cathedral, evinces in many respects the influence of Italy. The architecture, with well-executed white busts, is of Italian taste. But his portrait-like heads are not important, and his attitudes are mannered. The portrait of the donor is animated, but Martha and Mary have the aspect of nuns. The colouring is gaudy, the chiaroscuro well observed, and the finish, especially of the accessories, good. In his later pictures he appears as a feeble painter in the manner of Frans Floris.

Hermann's brother, LUDGER TOM RING THE YOUNGER, [b. 1522, d. 1583,] devoted himself to the imitation



of the details of real life. Thus his pictures of sacred subjects are so in little more than name. Of this class is a *Marriage at Cana*, dated 1562, in the Berlin Museum, No. 708—literally a large kitchen piece with numerous skilfully executed details, but totally devoid of keeping. The subject itself is seen in a corner of the background.

At Nuremberg, at about the same period, lived a master of the name of VIRGILIUS SOLIS, painter, engraver, and designer upon wood, born 1514, died 1562. His pictures are now become very rare. From his numerous engravings, however, treating as they do the most various subjects, and from the woodcuts taken from his designs,<sup>1</sup> it appears that in his earlier time he attached himself, though but in a mechanical fashion, to the school of Albert Durer, devoting himself subsequently to the imitation of Italian art, in which he displays great readiness of hand, but little feeling.

MICHAEL OSTENDORFER, [born in Swabia before 1500, settled in Regensburg in 1519, and died there in 1559.]<sup>2</sup> He formed himself after Albrecht Altdorfer, though inferior to him in feeling and skill. Like Lucas Cranach he sought to embody the doctrines of Luther in his art. An altarpiece of this class is in the collection of the Historical Museum at Regensburg. [The *Virgin of the Apocalypse* is (Cabinets, No. 168) in the Munich Gallery.]

At about the same period we find in Munich a painter by name HANS MÜLICH, generally but erroneously called Mielich, born 1515, died 1572. His portraits are now rare; one of a woman, in the collection of the King of Prussia, shows that he followed the early German style. The treatment is truthful, and the colouring clear. [Others (Nos. 50 and 52) are in the Munich Gallery.] The same qualities appear in his portraits of Duke Albrecht V. of Bavaria and his Duchess Anna, and of other individuals—among the rest, of himself, executed in miniature for the above-named princess, in the illuminated MSS. of the music of the Seven Penitential Psalms, by Orlando di Lasso, and in the motetts by Ciprian

<sup>1</sup> Bartsch, vol. ix. p. 242, etc., quotes 558 engravings by his hand, and various long series of woodcuts from his designs.

<sup>2</sup> [Consult Marggraff's Catalogue of the Munich Pinak., p. 163.]

de Rore.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the historical subjects introduced into these works by him show him as a feeble imitator of Italian artists.

In this time also occurs the name of HANS SEBALD LAUTENSACK, who laboured in Vienna, and who decidedly descended from the painter family of the same name at Nuremberg. No picture, however, by him is known to me. As regards his engravings<sup>2</sup> he appears most to advantage in his landscapes and views of towns, following in his fantastic feeling and mechanical treatment the style of Altdorfer. His portraits, which are weak in drawing and hardly treated, show also his adherence to the early German school.

A somewhat later generation than those we have just considered gave themselves still more determinately to the imitation of Italian art, of which their productions show us the most perverted examples. In the whole field of ideal art, whether mythology, allegory, or Holy Scripture, they are alike mannered and devoid of taste, and especially so where nude figures constitute the chief subject. Their treatment of realistic scenes from their own contemporary history and from common life, as well as their portraits and landscape, are somewhat more endurable, though far less truthful and careful in character, than the works of the Netherlandish masters of the same time. The following are the most notable names.

TOBIAS STIMMER, born at Schaffhausen 1534. According to the fashion then prevalent in Germany, he decorated with frescoes the façades of many houses in his native city, and in Strasburg and Frankfort.<sup>3</sup> His oil pictures are very rare. The portraits of Herr von Schwyz, a banner-man of Zurich, and his wife, in the collection of Mr. Carl Waagen of Munich, show skill and truthfulness. His whole style may be gathered from several hundred woodcuts executed from his designs.<sup>4</sup> He died at Strasburg in the prime of life.

<sup>1</sup> See the same in the Munich Court Library among the rarest treasures called there "*Cimelien*," Nos. 51 and 52.

<sup>2</sup> Bartsch, vol. ix. p. 107, etc., mentions fifty-nine engravings and two woodcuts by him.

<sup>3</sup> [Consult Schreiber, '*Das Münster zu Strasburg*,' 8vo., Strasb., p. 91.]

<sup>4</sup> Bartsch, vol. ix. p. 330.

JOST AMMAN, born at Zurich 1539, removed to Nuremberg in 1560, and died there 1591. I know no example surviving of his pictures in oil and on glass. But various engravings, and a large number of woodcuts from his designs, give evidence of his great diligence.<sup>1</sup>

CHRISTOPH MAURER, born at Zurich 1558, died 1614. He was the scholar of Tobias Stimmer, and closely followed his style. He also is only known by a small number of plates and woodcuts, the first etched by himself, the second from his designs, which have now become very rare.<sup>2</sup>

HANS BOCK, known by his diffuse frescoes, inside and outside the Hôtel de Ville at Basle, some of which still survive. He is very mannered in style, but of great energy, as for example his picture of the Calumny of Apelles, in the same Hôtel de Ville. [He copied several of Holbein's works].

The following masters enjoyed much favour at this period at the Courts of the Duke of Bavaria at Munich, and of the Emperor Rodolph II. at Prague.

HANS VAN ACHEN, born at Cologne [1562],<sup>3</sup> died at Prague 1615; studied at Cologne in the school of the painter Jerrigh. On his return from Italy [in 1588] he was successively employed at both the above-mentioned courts. His best pictures are those in which we trace the study of Tintoretto, viz., his Bathsheba bathing, in the Vienna Gallery; his least attractive are those in which he took his friend Bartholomew Spranger for his model, namely, his Bacchus with Venus, his Jupiter and Antiope, in the same gallery. Specimens of his ecclesiastical pictures are in the church of the Jesuits and in the church of Our Lady at Munich.

JOSEPH HEINZ, born probably at Berne. According to Van Mander he was a scholar of Hans van Achen, and one of the favourite painters of Rodolph II. He died in Prague, 1609. His pictures are occasionally distinguished by a cold sumptuousness; as for example his Venus and Adonis, in the Vienna Gallery; also by a feeling for elegance of form, as

<sup>1</sup> Bartsch, vol. ix. p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 381.

<sup>3</sup> [See O. Mündler and W. Schmidt in Meyer's *Kunst Lexikon*, art., *Achen*.]

in his Diana and Actæon, in the same gallery. His colouring is gaudy and untruthful, but his touch melting and masterly. His most unattractive works are those taken from Scripture, as seen in the Crucifixion at Vienna. He appears to most advantage in his portraits, namely, in that of the Emperor Rodolph II., also at Vienna.

CHRISTOPHER SCHWARTZ, born at Ingolstadt, in Bavaria [about 1550], died 1597. He formed himself in Venice, more especially after the works of Tintoretto, and afterwards became court painter at Munich. His forms are pleasing and his attitudes graceful, though often mannered. His heads are insipid, and his colouring either gaudy and crude or too faint. He also decorated the exteriors of houses with frescoes. The most notable of his pictures are a Virgin and Child in glory, in the Munich Gallery, No. 114. Also a family portrait, No. 122, in which Tintoretto is his obvious model.

JOHANN ROTHENHAMMER, born at Munich 1564, died at Augsburg 1623. He was scholar of Hans Donnauer, and visited Italy, where he also studied Tintoretto. He painted a number of large pictures, but is chiefly known by those on a smaller scale, in which he collaborated alternately with Jan Breughel and Paul Bril; he executing the department of mythology or allegory, they that of landscape. In his earlier pictures—such as his Death of Adonis, in the Louvre, No. 424—he approaches Tintoretto in force, warmth, and clearness. His forms also partake of the same elegant character; unfortunately he adopted the Venetian master's arbitrary and confused arrangement of lines. His later pictures—for example, his Virgin in Glory, in the Munich Gallery, No. 111—have a disagreeable effect, from the brick-red tones of the flesh and the greenish shadows. In his numerous small pictures he is known by the tenderly-fused character of his execution. Plenty of this class are found in all galleries.

By far the most attractive painter whom Germany displays at this unsatisfactory period of the art is ADAM ELZHEIMER, born at Frankfort on the Maine 1578,<sup>1</sup> died at

<sup>1</sup> Sandrart, vol. i. p. 294, and Schnaase's 'Niederländische Briefe,' p. 26.

Rome 1620. He early showed his artistic talents, and was placed under the Frankfort master, Philip Uffenbach, after which he travelled through Germany to Rome, where he married an Italian. He had a profound and refined feeling for nature, further developed by ceaseless study, and admirable technical qualities, which told to great advantage in his uniformly small pictures. His historical works, scriptural or mythological, are of decidedly realistic character, well arranged and drawn, occasionally approaching Rembrandt in warmth of tone, and executed throughout in a fine body of colour, and with the utmost attention to detail. Effects of torch and candle light were also his favourite study. Although well paid for his pictures, the time he devoted to them was so considerable that, having a numerous family, he was thrown into prison for debt, and died in bitter poverty. His most admirable works are his landscapes, which have a miniature-like character, as if we looked on nature through a diminishing glass. In the small space which they occupy he gives a wide expanse of diversified scenery, illuminated by broken gleams of light—woods in deep shadow, water with its clear bright surface, and the graceful alternations of mountain and valley; the eye, which at a little distance enjoys the harmony of this little world, loses nothing when it approaches to view more closely the minutest details of execution, or the spirited indication of the different objects. There is no want of pleasing figures subordinate to the landscape. Here we have a Holy Family journeying through a still, moonlight landscape—there a thick forest, in which John the Baptist preaches to the assembled people—now a night-piece, with Æneas leading his followers from the burning city. Owing to his laborious mode of operation he left but a small number of pictures, which are now exceedingly rare. Some of them have also lost their original charm by the darkening of the colours. His best examples known to me are the following. A Flight into Egypt, in Devonshire House. Tobit and the Angel, in the collection of the late Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Edmund Phipps, a picture engraved by the Chevalier Goudt; Cupid and Psyche, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; a Venus,



in the Mesman Collection at Cambridge; St. Paul on the Island of Melita, at Corsham Court; the Delivery of Peter from Prison, at Broom Hall; the Flight into Egypt, and the Good Samaritan, in the Louvre, Nos. 159 and 160; Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, and Christ with the Disciples at Emmaus, in the Städel Institute at Frankfort; the Flight into Egypt, engraved by the Chevalier Goudt, in the Munich Gallery; a Repose in Egypt, and another Flight into Egypt, in the Vienna Gallery; and the Triumph of Psyche, in the Uffizi at Florence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This picture is falsely called by the name of Paul Bril. On the other hand, the ten pictures there ascribed to Elzheimer are the work of Poelemberg.

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